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WINTER AND SUMMER DANCE SERIES IN ZUÑI IN 1918

BY

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

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PART I. KOYUPCHONAKYA[1]

A few weeks after *itiwana*,[2] the winter solstice ceremonial, during a period of five or six weeks, each of the six Zuñi *kiwitsiwe*[3] or estufas presents a *koko* (kachina) dance, a dance of masked impersonations, the other *kiwitsiwe* likewise sending out or not, as each may wish, a group of dancers. When a *kiwitsine* does not wish to participate fully, it may send out an *atoshle*[4] impersonation or any other single figure to dance with another *kiwitsine* group. As the series of dances progresses, an increasing number of *kiwitsiwe* participate fully until in the final dance of the series it is usual for all the *kiwitsiwe* to present sets of dancers.[5]

The *komosona*[6] is said to determine the order of presentation by the *kiwitsiwe*. Formally, the *kiwitsine* presenting the dance[7] gives to the *kiwitsine* next in order a cigarette, sending it by the two impersonators who appear in the *kosawia* (*ko ex koko, sawia*, tell, let know, bring news), a rite of announcement of the coming dance, performed two, three, or four days in advance.[8]

Theoretically, the masked dance presented is the *kok'okshi*,[9] or what appears to be a variation of the *kok'okshi* called *upikyaiupona* (b). During the series of the season of 1918 the *kok'okshi* proper was presented only once, the *upikyaiupona* was presented on four occasions, and the final dance was neither *kok'okshi* nor a variation,[10] but *toichakwena* (c). The dances given in the winter are repeated in the summer in the winter order—at least theoretically. "The *koyupchonawe* are *koko awan itiwana*, the *itiwana* of the *koko*," perhaps a way of saying, in view of the fact that at *itiwana* the year's ceremonial program is drawn up, that with the *koyupchonawe* the year's program for the *koko* is determined.

In both the afternoon rite of the *kosawia* and the evening dances of the *koyupchonawe*, houses and not *kiwitsiwe* are in use. The *kiwitsine* appears to be falling into disuse at Zuñi[11]—perhaps because the large

rooms built in connection with the *koko awia* are more commodious. But these substituted rooms are referred to by people as *kiwitsiwe*, just as lightning, rain, or cloud symbols are called "lightning," "rain," "clouds."

FOURTH KOYUPCHONANE

I arrived at Zuñi this year (1918) on February 16, the day after the *kosawia* by *muhewa kiwitsine*, the fourth *kosawia*, and I stayed through the final *koyupchonane* on March 5.[12] (See table II.) In reading the following discursive account of the public ceremonials from February 17 to March 5 and of what could be learned of the exclusive *kosawia*, I beg the reader to turn to the tabulated presentations of the dances (tables I-V) as a guide, however inadequate, through their bewildering complexity—bewildering not only to the reader of a report but bewildering to the onlooker himself at Zuñi.

Early in the afternoon of February 17, in looking for my interpreter, I came up to the house on the south side of the town in which lives Waihusiwa, head of the *palto* or East side *ashiwani* or rain priests, and *shiwani* of the East. Waihusiwa was chopping wood outside and he motioned me in. The house was that in which the *sayatasha*[13] group had been entertained in the recent *koko awia*.[14] Its big room was to be used at the *koyupchonane* that night, and members of the *tikyane* (fraternity) who were to sing in the house, the *halokwe*[15] (Ant fraternity), were occupied setting up their altar (*teshkwine*).[16] It was set up as usual, when the shape of the room permits, in the west end and faced east. One man was hanging up the figure of *achiyalatopa*;[17] that accomplished, he shifted the stepladder to the center of the room to put into the fresh *teshkwine* in the ceiling[18] what I took to be a rhombus. Out toward the middle of the floor was a basket for the feather-sticks which one man after another brought in under his blanket and gave to the *wo'le* (servant-director[19] or, specifically in this case, the *otikya mosi*, dance head) of the *kiwitsine*[20] whose group was associated for the time with this house.[21] In one of the two cases I noticed, the corn husk wrapped around the ends of the sticks was removed before putting the sticks into their encircling place in the basket. Ordinarily, the corn husk wrapping is left on until the sticks are put in the ground, and even then in many cases I have found them unremoved. The exceedingly complex ritual of the feather-stick prayer-offering is subject to endless variation.

That evening at 7:30 I went into the house of the *muhekwe* (figure 1), a house which in 1915 I had seen serve for the *muhewa shalako*.[22] During the following hour three-fourths of the floor space filled up with

the usual audience of women, babies, and little children, and at last a dozen or more members of the Little Firebrand fraternity (*makye ts'anakwe*) took up their position around the pottery drum to the left of the ground altar[23] (owing to the construction of this house the altar faces south). Close to the altar, on either side, sat a fraternity official, probably the *akwa mosi* (medicine director) on the right, and on the left the *makye mosi* (fire director), each with a red-stained feather (*uky'ahana*)[24] in his hair and in his right hand the two eagle[25] feathers (*asiwe*, hands) that always figure prominently in Pueblo fraternity ritual.

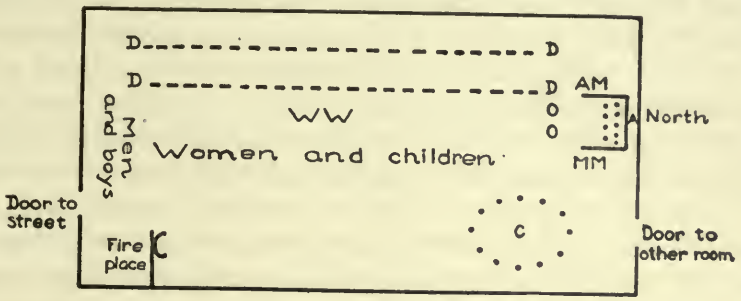

FIGURE 1. House of *Muhekwe*

A, Altar; O, Medicine Bowl; AM, *Akwi mosi;* MM, *Makye mosi;* C, *Choir;* WW, 2 *wo'we;* DD, Position of dancers.

The fraternity choir began to sing and soon there came dancing in one yellow[26] *salimopia* (e) and two *nahalisho* (f), boys of fourteen or sixteen, followed in a few minutes by three or four more *salimopia*, one *lelashoktipona* (h), and three *hatashuk* (i), boys of ten, twelve, fourteen. As each mask came in for the first time he would proceed at once to the altar, where each of the two fraternity men would rise and, in turn, after dipping the tips of the eagle feathers into the medicine bowl on the altar, asperge the dancer by striking the left-hand feather smartly four or five times with the right-hand feather. The dancer would then pass on to join in the more or less individualistic capering of his group.

This group, members of which came and went at pleasure between the appearances of the regular sets of dancers, did not sing—the fraternity choir always sings for them—but each impersonator from time to time uttered his characteristic call.[27] In the group there might be as many as eight *salimopia* at one time or sometimes only one. All but one, a shiny black[28] *salimopia*, were yellow *salimopia*. The black *salimopia* and one of the yellow carried in the right hand two (?) feather

sticks, indicating that these impersonators were wearing the real *salimopia* masks and would therefore after the dance plant feather-sticks, the feather-sticks they carried. They would plant them immediately after the close of the night's dancing and after they had taken their masks to the house where they belonged. Incidentally I may say that the windstorm which arose the day after this dance was explained as caused by the taking out of the permanent *salimopia* masks. "It always blew after they took out these masks."

Under the *salimopia* mask was the characteristic enormous collar of raven feathers. There were neither arm bands nor leg bands, but around the ankles—the impersonators were barefoot—and around the right wrist were circlets of spruce (*kyałatsiwa*, a common decoration of the *koko*). Silver and leather wrist bands were worn. Giant yucca was carried, tip forward, in the right hand, and in the left the characteristic bone rattle together with yucca, the tip backward. Heavy necklaces and, in some cases, beaded bandoliers were worn. Under the dance kilt from knee to waist the body was painted white; the rest of the body, in the case of the yellow *salimopia*, was yellow, in that of the black *salimopia*, black. There was a broad turquoise colored belt. The kilt, which was open on the thighs, was of white cotton with a deep border of red and green figures on black. Butterfly, tadpole, bird and double triangle were the designs.

The mask of *łelashoktipona* was turquoise with the black and white block pattern (*kushoktane*) across the forehead and the same pattern across the parti-colored red and yellow ear.[29] There was a tubular snout like that of the *salimopia*. The turquoise and black mask of *u'poyona* had a dumb-bell shaped eye opening, a turquoise bird beak, and turquoise and black ears, with a black fringe around them. To the ears of both *u'poyona* and *łelashoktipona* were fastened downy feathers and in the following details both impersonations were the same. From a bunch of parrot feathers and a downy white feather[30] on top of the head, down the short black wiggy hair, fell two twists of cotton. The large spruce ruffs were in three cases tipped with popcorn. The body was painted red. Around the bare feet were worn the characteristic dance heel bands with their beaded black and white cross design. Bells were tied on with dark worsted under the right knee—a common dance device. The dance kilt was like that of the *salimopia*. A bunch of very long willow switches was carried in each hand with bells tied to the left-hand bunch.

The *nahalísho* had the four long turkey feathers upcurving from the short black hair on the top of the mask characteristic of the *nawish*

(j) mask; but instead of the nose zigzag of the *nawish* there were other geometric designs. To the tips of the upcurving feathers and tied to them at other points were downy eagle feathers. Other details were the spruce ruff, body painted red, yucca and bow in hands, bells and worsted below knee, characteristic dance arm bands and pendent feathers. A dark breech cloth was bundled in with a regulation woven dance belt. In beginning his dance the *nahalisho* would stand hands on hips, his peculiar posture. The barefoot *hatashuk* had in all particulars the familiar *koyemshi* (k) makeup. The top knob of the mask was ringed with spruce.

At 9:45 the *upikyaiupona* came in, making their first appearance of the evening, according to rule, in their own house. They were met at the door by the host, who sprinkled as usual a line of meal to the altar, a rite called *altiya* (opens). Subsequently the host met and led in in the same way the other sets of dancers. There were twenty-seven men impersonations and seventeen women, *kokw'e'le* (god girls) (l), as female impersonations of the *kok'okshi* and its variants are called. The line of women figures stood, as is usual, next to the wall with the line of men between them and the audience. Each wore the regulation *mukwe* (Hopi) blanket, the women's dress and moccasins, a small white, black-bearded mask (*pachine shoyane*),[31] the hair in side whorls. The men wore a turquoise mask like that of the *kok'okshi* with its oblong black eye slits and black beard. Instead of the black and white block design across the forehead and above the beard, there was a geometrical design at the corner of the jaw. From the four or five yellow parrot feathers on top, down their flowing hair were spaced three large downy eagle feathers on a cotton cord finished off with a shell. Three feather-tipped cords hung down the beard, and to this distinction from the *kok'okshi* mask is their name due. Regulation dance belt (*molimopikwin*, hang down in knots belt) and kilt, with spruce above belt and pendent fox skin; regulation dance moccasins and tortoise shell (*leakwine*) rattle; yucca and bow in hands; snake design painted in yellow on body. In the middle of the line two impersonators carried each a large *k'yaechine* or bundle of feather-sticks. During the dancing, for seven or eight minutes, these two impersonators, praying aloud, knelt on the right knee[32] before the two *muhekwe* officials sitting in the middle of the room in front of the audience. In connection with the prayer the impersonators gave each official a cigarette and moved the clasped hands of the recipients in the six directions—north, west, south, east, up, down—*lesitekwintakya* (toward every direction).[33] According to one informant, who seemed

somewhat doubtful, these cigarettes would be buried with the feather-stick bundles. At the close of the prayers (*tehusapenawe*), the *muhekwe* officials gave the two feather-stick bundles to the fraternity officials sitting by the altar to put at the back of the altar. These feather-sticks were those, not of *muhewa*, I infer, but of two of the *kiwitsiwe* that were not themselves presenting dances but sending representatives to dance with the *muhekwe* and to give them the feather-sticks cut for them. The next morning the *muhekwe wo'le* would send out six men to plant the feather-sticks made by the *muhekwe* and the people of the other *kiwitsiwe* for the *muhekwe*.

While the *upikyaiupona* were dancing and singing—like most *kiwitsine* dance sets they sing for themselves—the *akwa mosi* and the *makye mosi* passed down the line of dancers, sprinkling them with their *asiwe* (*akyałalu*, all, water, sprinkle).[34] The subsequent sets of dancers they sprinkled similarly. Likewise during each of the dances the two fraternity heads would rise and, facing each other, would quietly, almost languidly, dance-step in place, moving the *asiwe* in time, now and then one of them giving a turn to the star and birds[35] (*moyachułanna*, star, big) figure hanging over the altar.[36] After this they would dip the *asiwe* in their medicine bowls and asperge. Such asperging is called *ałashana*, "we live to be old," and is done to keep away bad influences. Making the star and birds figure rotate is an invitation to the clouds (*awełua*, clouds, *ishemea*, calling). During part of the *upikyaiupona* dance the *makye mosi* played on a flute (*chulułunane*).[37]

As the *upikyaiupona* were going out, after dancing about twenty minutes, four or five women among the audience gave one dancer or another packages of a bread called *kwanuli he'palokya*,[38] and the son of the house[39] handed five of the twelve women impersonators a flour sack filled with seed corn to be distributed at the close of the program among the audiences in the five other houses danced in.

After a brief intermission of dancing by members of the *salimopia* group, the *upikyaiupona tamayakwe* (m) (Santa Ana) came in, led by a *ne'wekwe*[40] *tamayakwe*. With the seventeen male and two female *upikyaiupona* were two *wotemła tamayakwe* (n) and one *he'he'a* (o). Distinguishing features of the *upikyaiupona tamayakwe* were triangular designs in the corner of the mask, and forearms painted dark blue. The *wotemła* wore a visored and terraced mask with a long animal-like snout, and, at the back, a circlet of eagle wing feathers, and a collar of skin. The *he'he'a* wore the usual round *he'he'a* mask. It was colored pink. A very large tortoise shell was fastened behind at the waist. The hair of the *ne'wekwe* was bunched up on top with corn

husks a foot high. The face was blackened except for the usual *ne'wekwe* line across the cheek bones and curving around the eyes (*tunatsi-wulapchelnapa*, eyes marked around), which was white. A bit of fur was around his neck and he wore an old blue coat with brass buttons —a grotesque figure indeed.

The *ohekwe* were presenting this dance. This was only its second production. Last year it was introduced at Zuñi by the impersonator of *he'he'a*, a San Felipe man (*welapatsikwe*) who has lived in Zuñi six years.[41] Five years ago he was initiated, before his first dance, a *mahetinasha*,[42] into *muhewa*. Apparently his own *kiwitsine* made no claim to his Keresan dance variant.

After dancing and singing about forty-five minutes, *upikyaiupona tamayakwe* were followed for another forty-five minutes by the *upts'anakwe* presenting the *wilatsukwe* (p) (White Mountain Apache) dance. There were about forty male figures. With them was a *ne'wekwe* —the *ne'mosi*[43] himself— to beat the bundle (*chahumoawe*) or, to one of their songs, a drum. The *ne'mosi* wore a pair of flannel trousers, flaps of calico back and front, and a dotted pink and white shirt (made for the occasion from a window curtain, he told us later). He wore the *ne'wekwe* cap with its side and top bunches of corn husks; his face was whitened but for the black lines under the eyes and around the mouth like a drooping moustache. He carried his *ne'wekwe* stick. The *wilatsukwe* mask was a small, straight profile, white, face mask covered with arrow and geometric designs, no two masks quite alike. The hair was flowing, with twists of yarn or fur across the forehead and hanging sidewise like braids. At the sides of the head were rosettes of ribbons, artificial flowers, and bunches of feathers of all kinds. Over the shoulders were capes of all sorts, velvet, skin, cloth, decorated with a garish miscellany of beads, small mirrors, silver buttons, and tinsel. Under the skin kilt were flaps of calico. At the back, a flat basket was attached to the silver Navaho belt or to the rope twisted around the waist, and to the side, a pair of spurs or a quoit might be fastened. High moccasins or fringed leggings were worn. In the right hand, a gourd rattle, in the left, a lance. The star figure or captain would stalk in front of the irregular double line of dancers, and between songs he would say a few words, ejaculated "Hup! Hup!" In his left hand he carried a large bow, in his right an arrow. A large skin quiver was over his back and a skin bandolier at his side. Several large white feathers were fastened to a cord down his hair and to another cord along his right forearm.

A bundle of feather-sticks was carried by a dancer in both the *upikyaiupona tamayakwe* and the *wilatsukwe*, and the bundle was presented with prayer to the *kiwitsine* official in the middle of the room. At the conclusion of each dance, the leader (*awilona*) sprinkled meal on the dancers and on the *mi'we* (corn-ear fetishes) on the altar. He was then given from a shell a drink from each of the two medicine bowls on the altar by its respective fraternity official.

After an hour more of dancing by the *salimopia* group, and a second and final dance by the returning *upikyaiupona*, each member of the choir sprinkled meal upon each *upikyaiuopna* and upon the *mi'we*. Thereupon the dancers began to take off their masks[44] and their tortoise shells, not waiting for what was left of the audience (which had decreased by half at the end of the *wilatsukwe* dance)[45] to be well out of the room. It was one o'clock in the morning. As I passed through the town, in the *hekyapawa* house[46] and the *chupawa* house[47] groups were still dancing, concluding their round of the six houses.

During the *wilatsukwe* dance I had noticed one member of the choir leave his place, speak to the midmost figure in the dance, and then proceed to sprinkle the dancers. This meant that the dancers were asked through their dance head, whose place is in the middle of the line, to dance the next day in the plaza; and so, the following afternoon, February 18, the *wilatsukwe*, twenty-nine of them, together with a fraternity *awilona* and the *ne'mosi* to beat the bundle, were out dancing in the plaza, in *ts'i'a'a tehwita*. Led by their solemn-faced *awilona*, wearing as usual a buckskin across his shoulder, and crowned with a yucca circlet and a red stained downy feather, the dancers came in two by two; then, going on a diagonal from the southeast corner to the northwest, they moved on eastward, forming a single dance line. The dancer captain as before danced out in front; likewise, at times, a very little boy dancer. The dancers would perform for a half-hour or so and then withdraw for a half-hour or less. Later in the afternoon dancers would bring back strings of apples and bags of nuts to throw to the spectators. The dance step varied quite a little from the usual dance step. In one song, the right foot was brought down three times before the shift to the left foot. As the dancers went in and out of the plaza they sang, as well as in the dance, and as individual dancers lingered to throw their gifts they, too, sang on leaving. Before the final withdrawal from the plaza the *awilona* as usual sprinkled meal on the heads of the attendant *koyemshi* (k).

The *koyemshi*, in one of the intervals that they fill out between dances, had played their bean bag game, in another they had per-

formed their tumbling antics, one tricking another by means of a wheelbarrow. The *koyemshi* had been invited to come out by the *wilatsukwe*. The night before, i.e., the same night the repetition was asked for, the *otikya mosi* of the *wilatsukwe* took the request, with a cigarette, to *koyemshi awan tachu* (their father). This was the first appearance of the true *koyemshi*, i.e., the *koyemshi* impersonators appointed during the winter solstice ceremonial; for at the preceding *koyupchonawe* they had not yet planted their monthly feather-sticks and the rule is that they may not come out (*koyemshi ukwaye*)[48] to play (*ikoshnawa*) before this planting. This rule apparently overrides the rule that the *koyemshi* must always be in attendance upon the *kok'okshi;* or perhaps the *upikyaiupona* (they and not the *kok'okshi*, we recall, had come out at the three preceding *koyupchonawe*) is sufficiently differentiated from the *kok'okshi* not to have the rule apply.

At the conclusion of the dance in the plaza, Hompikya, the *kopilashiwani*, had sprinkled meal on the *wilatsukwe* and asked them for a repetition the next day. So that evening the *wilatsukwe* were heard dancing, according to custom, in the house of the *koyemshi*.[49] It was the house of *koyemshi awan tachu* and it was in *itiwana*, i.e., in the middle of the town. Into this house I watched them go on their final withdrawal from the plaza the second afternoon of their dance. At the threshold stood their *awilona*, sprinkling with meal each dancer as he started to cross the threshold. The *ne'mosi* had stopped off on the way. As he was overtaking the others, he began to sing the beautiful going-out song of the *wilatsukwe*[50] to the enjoyment of the women smiling after him in their doorways. He was a debonair figure, and one caught a sense of gaiety[51] very alien to the usual ceremonial singing. Except when the dancers throw their presents, when the inertness of the spectators changes into frolic, a Zuñi audience, alike outdoors or indoors, at least the women and children, appears quasi-hypnotized and far from light-hearted.

FIFTH KOYUPCHONANE

The *ohekwe* were to present the next *koyupchonane*, but Hashi, their *wo'le*,[52] was out herding sheep, and they appeared to be waiting on his return. But at last, without Hashi,[53] on February 23, the *kosawia* of the *ohekwe* took place. At 4 p.m.[54] I reached *ts'i'a'a* plaza to find that the two announcing impersonators had already left *ohewa kiwitsine*, or rather the house substituting for it,[55] and had just entered the house substituted for *he'iwa kiwitsine*, the house on the south side of *tsi'a'a* plaza.[56] The *he'iwa* house was the first house visited by

the *koko* announcers because *he'iwa* was to present the next *koyupchonane*. With some little boys who had been playing a game of tops and pebbles in the plaza, I peeped into the window and saw the two *koko* concluding the three or four minute dance and song they perform on their entrance; and I saw one of the men in the house sprinkle meal in front of the *koko* to lead them to a seat under the window on the north side of the room. There the *koko* appeared to sit for the ensuing hour I spent in the plaza waiting for them to come out and watching the boys spinning their tops. About five the door was opened and a man (I recognized Halian, a member of *he'iwa*) sprinkled meal across the threshold. Through the window the *koko* could be seen standing for a minute or two. Then the two came to the doorway, each sprinkling meal in front. They passed out, shaking their gourd rattles. After relieving themselves in unembarrassed Zuñi fashion in the deserted house site habitually used for the purpose by impersonators, the two *koko*—they were *kok'okshi*—walked on eastward to the *chupawa* house. They stood unceremoniously near the door for a minute or two; then each in turn, the right-hand impersonator first, sprinkled meal in a circuit from right to left. The door was opened, and, sprinkling in front of themselves, the *koko* entered. The door-opener sprinkled for them and closed the door. For three or four minutes the *koko* sang and danced. Thirteen minutes later they came out, again sprinkling in front of themselves. During their visit, their heads, I noted, had been liberally sprinkled with meal and the feather-sticks each carried on coming out of the *he'iwa* house had been augmented. Shaking their rattles, the two proceeded to the *hekyapawa* house. Here, before sprinkling in circuit, each waved in the same anti-sunwise circuit before the door the crook stick he carried in his left hand,[57] and in this case the *koko* began their song before they crossed the threshold. At this house I left them, knowing that their visits to the *muhewa* house and to the *upts'sana* house would be similar. In each of the five houses they visited they would be given feather-sticks. The feather-sticks cut for them by the members of their own *kiwitsine* they would have already planted that morning, before the *kosawia*. During the *kosawia* the two impersonators are said to smoke the cigarette which has been given to the *wo'le* of the *kiwitsine* the night of the preceding *kosowia* (it has been kept meanwhile in the house of the *komosona*), the two impersonators giving, in their turn, a cigarette to the *wo'le* of the *kiwitsine* next to dance.

The crook sticks carried in the *kosawia* were referred to as *tatsikowe* (*tame*, stick, club, *tsikone*, hook or crook), or, more definitely and

correctly, I think, as *tapone* or *telan achi* (both). The crook stick in the feather-sticks of the rain priests is called *tapone*, and is a device for the clouds to descend. *Telane* is the type of feather-stick that is given to impersonators to retain until the conclusion of their impersonation. It is homologous, I take it, with the canes of office of the governor and *tenientes*.[58]: The *telane* of the *koko* announcers was said by one informant to belong to the rain priests, by another to the *kiwitsine*, every *kiwitsine* having two *telawe* for use in the *kosawia*. On the *telane* is a lightning symbol (*wiloanawe*), and to the lower part of it is fastened a *mi'le*, the fetishistic feather-wrapped ear of corn possessed by the medicine members of the fraternities. If the *mi'we* attached to these *telawe* belong also to the rain priests,[59] the fact may not be insignificant as bearing upon the genetic relation between rain priests and fraternities.[60]

On the evening of February 25, I joined the audience of women and children in the *ohekwe* house. The *uhuhukwe* fraternity altar was in the west end of the the room, the *uhuhukwe* choir sitting in a circle to the north of the altar, the usual position for the choir, and the *akwa mosi*, to the south. Two *wo'we*[61] sat as usual in front of the audience, i.e., between the audience and the dancers. About 8:30 the choir began to sing and in a minute or two a red *salimopia*, two *telashoktipona*, and a *nahalisho*, the last three, little boys, came in, each impersonator in turn passing by the *akwa mosi* who, without asperging, waved his *asiwe* up and down in front of the impersonator. Then and later, whenever members of the *salimopia* group were dancing, the *akwa mosi* kept his *asiwe* moving in time with the song. During the next hour, other *nahalisho* and *salimopia* impersonators followed the first comers, likewise *u'poyona* impersonators and an impersonator whose name I failed to learn. His round *salimopia*-like mask was of a yellow ash color and his body was similarly painted. In place of the stiffly backward-pointing features of the *salimopia* mask, there were on the top of the mask two banded turkey feathers, and to each ear a turkey feather was attached. In other respects his makeup was *salimopia*. Of the *salimopia* proper there were dancing at one time one black, one blue, two red, and five yellow. None carried *telikyinawe* and so none wore the true *salimopia* mask. The following day, we did not fail to note, it did not blow, but, as desired, it rained!

Contrary to rule, the first *kiwitsine* set of dancers to come in was not that of the house, i.e., the *ohekwe*, who were to present the *kok'okshi*, but the *hekyapakwe* presenting a burlesque (*hewa hewa*) of the *wilatsukwe* (q) dance. There were ten impersonators including two

little boys. Their uniform masks were colored gray and traversed with black lines, and had conspicuous teeth set in protuberant pink gums. The baskets fastened to the belt were store-bought. One figure wore a necklace of clamshells. The feathers and rosettes in their hair, their garish capes, and their skirts and leggings, their gourds and their beribboned lances were very similar to those of the original *wilatsukwe*. Their stoop-shouldered and somewhat pot-bellied captain imitated very cleverly the stride and the high-pitched accents of the handsome, prancing original. Instead of a lance the caricaturist carried a long carmine-stained bone. The *ne'wekwe awilona* had his short hair powdered with ashes and puffed out on either side of his head, but without any dressing of corn husk. Around his neck was a collar of pink down. He wore the shabby "American" clothes usually worn by the *ne'wekwe*. He rambled around in front of the dancers, acting the clown rather than the solemn *awilona*.

After one of the *wilatsukwe hewahewa* figures had finished the ten minute prayer to the *ohekwe wo'le*, and had given the *wo'le* the requisite feather-sticks (the *wo'le* passed the bundle to a member of the choir to put on the altar), the group passed on out of the house, their place being taken directly by the *kok'okshi*, who were no doubt waiting outside to give their first dance in their own house. They were brought in by the *akwa mosi* and another man, both sprinkling meal in front of them. During their dance, as during the dance of the *wilatsukwe hewahewa*, the *akwa mosi* went once down the line asperging each dancer with his *asiwe*. In one case he carried his medicine bowl with him instead of returning to dip his *asiwe* in it after sprinkling every three or four dancers. Here as in other minor particulars we note a slight variation in the ritual of the medicine head of the *uhuhukwe* from that of the medicine head of the Little Firebrand fraternity.

There were thirty male *kok'okshi* impersonations not including *pautiwa* (r), the *awilona*, and after him an *he'he'a* and an *u'poyona*, and there were five *kokw'e'le*. *Pautiwa* wore his turquoise beaked mask[62] with eagle feathers and one very long yellow feather at the back of the hair, his fox-skin[63] collar, and his *miha* or Hopi blanket. In his right hand he carried a piece of spruce and a *tatsikone* or *telane* such as was carried in the *kosawia*. It was *pautiwa* who prayed to the *wo'le*, giving him a cigarette and moving his hands in the six directions. During the dance, four or five women in the audience gave small packages of food to one dancer or the other. Part of such presents the impersonator will offer at the river, the rest he will take home for consumption—the usual distribution for food offerings to *koko* impersonators.

As the dancers were withdrawing, each of the five *kokw'e'le* was given a bag of shelled corn to distribute, one bag to each of the other five houses. At the close of the night's dancing the corn would be passed around in a basket among the audience. The handful each person took would be planted. Corn ceremonially acquired has always to be not eaten but planted.

After the *kok'okshi* went out, an old acquaintance, Lewis, the ex-*tapup* (governor), nodded me an invitation to make a tour with him of the other houses—just as two years before I had gone the rounds with him "*shalako*" night. The crowds of men about the doorways of the houses being danced in were so large that the general impressions I got were paid for by missing the details observable had I kept my place in the *ohekwa* house. As we left it, we met outside, waiting to come in, the group *upts'anakwe* were presenting, four tablet headdressed *hemushikwe* (s) and one *nahalisho*[64] to play on the notched sticks[65] frequently used in Pueblo Indian dances, and played on, among the Zuñi and Keresans at least, by female impersonations.

In the *hekyapawa* house, where the *shi'wanakwe* fraternity was singing, the *salimopia* group was dancing. We went on to the *chupawa* house, passing by the group of twenty-five or more *he'ikwe* who were presenting a Hopi dance called *pasikyapa* (t) (sleeve, wide) *hewañewa*. They were waiting around a fire—it was a cold starlit night—and, contrary to the rule of quiet or speechlessness, they were talking quite noisily. As they passed into the house, they handed out apples to those of us standing near the doorway, and, before beginning their dance, they threw apples, bread, and other things to the audience just as dancers will throw things in the plaza. The *awilona* was a *ne'wekwe*[66] made up like the *wilatsukwe hewahewa awilona* but, unlike the latter, he kept in position as leader, and, as the *awilona* is wont to do, he sprinkled meal on the ground between the songs.[67] The dancer next in line to the *awilona* carried the bundle of feather-sticks he was to leave in the *ohekwe* house. The dancers wore for the most part ribbon-bedizened velvet bodices with feathers in the hair and their unmasked faces daubed with black. There were only four or five masks, round masks with feathers and ribbons, but the details I was unable to observe. In the *upts'ana* house and in the *muhewa* house no dancing was at the time going on, and the seated audiences were slim.[68] Returning to the *ohekwa* house, we caught glimpses through the inside window of the rear room of the *lapile* (feather string) *hewahewa* (u) dance, a Sioux (*nasuiyakwe* or *nasawiakwe*) dance presented by *chupawa*. All the dancers wore high leggings and carried

a gourd rattle and a beribboned lance. Shirts and kilts were highly variegated. The fantastic masks, too, were heterogeneous, and yet an impression of uniformity was given by the sweeping crest of feathers crowning each dancer, the feature from which the dance takes its name. It is a remarkable fact, I think, that no matter how garish and tawdry a Zuñi dance makeup may be, and, in the dances purporting to imitate other tribes—Hopi, Apache, Comanche—the makeup is exceedingly and, I suspect, increasingly miscellaneous, no matter how overladen, how degenerate from the beautiful costuming of the older dances, the Zuñi love of design persists, and some pattern or scheme of uniformity predominates the bizarre and outlandish finery.

Even in the makeup of the *ne'wekwe awilona* in the *ohekwe koyupchonane,* I detected, I thought, concerted arrangement. The *awilona* of the *lapile hewahewa* as well as of the *wilatsukwe hewahewa* and the *pasikyapa hewahewa* was a *ne'wekwe,* a *mu* (*mukwe*) *ne'wekwe.* (It was the *ne'mosi.*) In his case and, I infer, in that of the other two *ne'wekwe,* the puffed out hair, referred to as *matsikwawe,* represented, as in the case of the *kokw'e'le* or *kok'okshi okya* (woman), the whorled headdress of the Hopi virgin. These *hewahewa* dances were, I surmise, in charge of the *ne'wekwe* or at least associated with them. Indeed I was told by one informant that *hewahewa*[69] masks were habitually kept by the *ne'wekwe.* According to another informant, it was the dance head of the *kiwitsine* who had the masks in charge. Sometimes a *hewahewa* mask would be taken home.

Having been invited by certain *tikyilona* (fraternity members) to repeat their dances the following day—asking for daytime repetitions of the evening dances appears to be a prerogative of the fraternities—the *kok'okshi* and the *lapile hewahewa* alternated in the plaza the whole afternoon of February 26. The *koyemshi* were out to attend upon the dancers and to play between dances. One *koyemshi* had some turquoise beads fastened to one of the knobs of his mask. To the knob of another *koyemshi* mask small stiff feathers (among them a bluebird feather), as in a feather-stick offering, were fastened. A *koyemshi tek'usnakya* (v) (dry ground) joined the *kok'okshi* on one of their appearances. Coming into the plaza by himself, he proceeded to take fourth place in the line of dancers and to dance there regularly until the close of the dance. Over the usual *koyemshi* makeup he wore a Hopi blanket put on askew.

With the *kok'okshi* were *pautiwa,* who stood out in front and would now and then stalk up and down the line of dancers, and *he'he'a,* who danced at the head of the line. But for his collar of fur, his *chili-*

crowned, corn-husk nosed mask, and the lines on his back, *he'he'a* was costumed like the *kok'okshi*. There were but four *kokw'e'le*, they dancing as usual to the north of the line of male figures. A fraternity member, as usual, was the *awilona*. Fastened to his queue was a *lashowan łane*.[70]

There were seventeen figures in the *lapile* dance, not counting their *awilona*, the *ne'mosi*, who appeared staidly wearing his regular *ne'wekwe* cap and carrying his *ne'wekwe* stick. The special figures among the *lapile* were a woman impersonation dressed all in white, white clothes, white mask, and white feather crest, *hemokyatsi* (w) or Jemez (?) old woman, she was called, and a bison (*siwolo*) (x) man. The bison impersonation was covered with a bison skin with the head of the bison drawn over his head. Besides the horns of his mask there were large teeth and goggle eyes. He wore a pendent fox skin, and a large bunch of feathers was fastened to the bison skin at the back of his head. He danced in front of the line, pawing the ground and making bison sounds. At the conclusion of the dance he would not leave the plaza, and the *hemokyatsi* and a little boy dancer approached him, the *hemokyatsi* carrying a flat basket filled with feathers and an ear of white corn. (The *hemokyatsi* had danced in line and during the dance a *koyemshi* had taken charge of her basket.) Unfortunately, because of my position in the plaza, I could not see all of the by-play between *hemokyatsi* and the bison man. Such by-play, I was told, is not uncommon in the *wotemła* (y) dance, when one or another of the fierce animals represented will act refractory and will be led out on a rope by *he'he'a*.

This afternoon a salimopia group was at times dancing to the singing of the *uhuhukwe* in the *ohekwe* house—the weather I may say was stormy—and at times taking about town from house to house the spruce-garnished toy bows and arrows which had been made for the little boys, and in return for which presents of meat or bread were expected from the recipients' households. In the *ohekwe* house I counted at one time eight *u'poyona* and *salimopia*, among the latter the many-colored *salimopia* of the zenith, a figure not seen the preceding night. His body as well as his mask was checkered with the six colors of the six directions.

SIXTH KOYUPCHONANE

On February 28 we heard that the *kosawia* or *he'ikwe* would occur the following day, March 1, and the *koyupchonane* either in four days, or, if the *ałashikwe* (old ones, ancestors) decided to have a *koyupchonane*, in three days. The *ałashikwe koyupchonane* is that presented by the impersonators of the *sayatasha* group of *koko*, of the *koyemshi*, and of

the *shalako*. It turned out that there was to be no conclusive *ałasikweh awan koyupchonane* because some of the impersonators had not yet been appointed[71] and there would therefore be too few to dance.[72] It turned out too—I mention the matter as an instance of the characteristic uncertainty of the Zuñi dance program—that the *he'ikwe kosawia* was on March 2, the *koyupchonane* on March 5.

That evening at 7:45 after eating for supper some *chutsikwanamuwe* (*chu*, corn, *tsikwana*, skin, *muwe*, bread), another name, I think, for *kwanuli he'palokya*, the quasi-ceremonial bread given to the dancers, I went to the *ohekwe* house with a family that habitually went there for the dances. For an hour or more but one little incident rippled the characteristically subdued tenor of the audience. Two women came in, a mother and daughter, and sat down on the stools they brought with them, the older woman saying to the woman between her and us, as it was translated to me later, "it won't hurt you if I sit down by you!" The woman addressed did not answer, but in a few seconds she moved away. After that, mother and daughter carried their stools to the other end of the room. Mother and daughter were reputed witches.

About nine o'clock members of the *salimopia* group began to come in, but for some reason or other, for the next half-hour the fraternity choir, *uhuhukwe*, would not sing for them, so that until 9:30 the figures merely ran in hooting and out again. All but the *salimopia* of the zenith, *salimopia pinto* (Spanish: spotted) were "out." There were also several *u'poyona*, *łelashoktipona*, and *nahalisho*. One *łelashoktipona* and one yellow *salimopia* carried *telikyinawe*. There were several *nawisho*, two or three *nawisho* proper with the characteristic zigzag nose-mark (*nots'inanpanine*) (z) down the middle of the turquoise mask, and two or three *nawisho itetsipona* (particolored, the usual word for this pattern) with mask half turquoise and half red, and instead of the four up-curving feathers from the top of the mask as worn by the *nawisho*, a squash blossom (*ateane*) over the right ear and three eagle wing feathers on the right side of the mask. All the *nawisho* wore spruce collars and regulation dance kilts and pendent fox-skins. There were two *he'he'a*, one wearing a black *koyemshi*-like loin cloth, the other, the regulation dance kilt and a maroon velvet shirt with ribbon rosettes. Instead of the bunch of *chili* on top of the mask there were artificial flowers. This much bedizened figure brought in with him two or three long stalks of corn and gave them to the *akwa mosi* to place at the back of the altar. There were six *hatashuk* (aa), four of them boys, and two, men; and there were three *shulawitsi*, one a boy, and two, men. The *shulawitsi* wore a very short kilt of black sheepskin

held by a turquoise-colored belt. On top of the round spotted mask were two feathers and falling over it in front two twists of white cotton. The entire body was spotted in different colors, in two cases the background color being a dark brown, in one case, white. Each carried yucca switches in his right hand, and in his left a bone rattle (like the *salimopia* rattle, but smaller), yucca, and a fire drill (*asosonane*). Three fluffy feathers were attached to the drill, one at each end and one in the middle, and the drill was painted with spots. The yucca switches of the white *shulawitsi* were also painted, spotted on white.[73]

At 10:15 into our house came the *hilili*, eighteen figures, together with its own masked choir, six female (?) impersonations who sat around their drum in the south corner of the room. Besides the *hilili* figure who carried a feather-stick bundle, feather-sticks were carried by a female impersonation dancing in the middle of the line. *Hekyapa kiwitsine* was presenting *hilili*, but the middle figure was *ohekwe*, an *ohekwe wo'le*, the sole representative of the *ohekwe* in the *koyupchonane*.[74]

Upon the *hilili* followed the *toicha'kwena* given by *he'iwa kiwitsine*. There were twenty-seven figures, but only one, at the head of the line, was masked, wearing the characteristic black bearded mask with its V-shaped eye holes and flapping tongue. His short back hair was spotted with white down, and the duck head on top of the mask pointed forward. Across the nose and the cheeks of the other dancers was drawn a black line and in some cases there were daubs of white on forehead and chin. Their hair was flowing and crowned with a yucca circlet to which at each ear a large downy feather, white or red, was attached. A third feather was fastened to the hair on top of the head. A figure wearing bearskin moccasins danced in front of the line and another in like moccasins danced in line, presumably the *chichili* (bb) couple.[75] A *ne'wekwe*, wearing his *ne'wekwe* cap and carrying his *ne'wekwe* stick, beat the skin bundle for the dancers.[76]

Upon the exit of the *toicha'kwena*, the four *sayali'a* (cc) entered, led in by the *kopekwin* and followed by the *komosona* and the *kopilashiwani*. The *sayali'a* came in with a call reminding one of the call of the *atoshle*, and stood in a row against the south wall of the room. Thereupon all the men in the room, beginning with the choir, and, after the men, all the women, passed one by one from west to east down the line of *sayali'a*. Each man stopped in front of each *sayali'a* to receive four strokes from the yucca switch of the *sayali'a*, each man holding out rigidly at right angles to the body first his right arm, then his left, and, raised straight in front of the body, first his right leg, then his left. After delivering these four strokes, the *sayali'a* held his yucca switch

to the man's mouth for him to spit on. The spitting was in some cases actual, in others merely formal. As the women passed along the line, each, with her blanket drawn well over her head, stooped in front of each *sayaƚi'a* and received four strokes across her shoulders. After the strokes, the *sayaƚi'a* waved his switch twice in a circuit from right to left over the stooping woman. Several women held a child in front of them in order, it was plain, to include the child in the rite. After the whipping, each person, the men first, passed again down the line of *sayaƚi'a*, sprinkling meal on the head and on the switch of each figure and, as he or she sprinkled, saying a prayer, and after the last sprinkling breathing with a prayer[77] from their clasped hands (*yechu*). Then, after making four times a circular gesture with their arms as if drawing something towards themselves,[78] the *sayaƚi'a* left the house to continue the rounds of the other dance houses. As they wave, to each gesture the *sayaƚi'a* say in turn in their hearts:

tosho anichiatu, seeds wish many!
utenana anichiatu, property wish much wish a lot!
teapkonane anichiatu, offspring (sacred term) wish many!
kwaholtemla anichiatu, all whatsoever wish much!

Everybody in a house is supposed to undergo this *ishuwanapkya* (cleansing). The spitting (*ichukotenapkya*), like the whipping, is "to get rid of bad habits."[79] The rite as subsequently described to me seems to be thought of sometimes as an expiatory, sometimes as an exorcising, rite. By one informant, the women were said to be whipped because, although uninitiated in the *kotikyane*, they had been present during the series of *koyupchonawe*. According to another informant, and this, I believe, was the true reason, the whipping rite was performed because, during one of the dances of the series, when a dancer was engaged in throwing things to the people, the snout of his mask fell off. Therefore all the people had to undergo *shuwaha*,[80] a rite which in one or another of its forms, is one of the most ubiquitous of Zuñi rites.

I heard also that had the *kopiłashiwani* led in the *sayaƚi'a*, the whipping would have been severer. As it was, only the *sayaƚi'a* first to whip put any muscle whatsoever into the strokes. The whipping of the women was even more perfunctory than the whipping of the men. Nevertheless the rite as a whole was extremely impressive. On many faces there was an unusual expression of solemnity or resolve.

After the departure of the *sayaƚi'a* there followed in succession a set of nine *wotemła* from *muhewa*, a set of seventeen *muluktakwe* (dd) from *chupawa*, and a set of thirty *kumanche* (ee) from *upts'ana*.[81] Of

the *wotemla* all but one were maskless. The mask had goggle eyes and a protuberant mouth of corn husk, and on top of the mask was a large bunch of owl feathers. Around neck and shoulders was a skin, and the regulation dance kilt was worn. The make-up of the other dancers was miscellaneous and comparatively tasteless. One dancer wore a white cotton shirt; above the waist the other dancers were nude. There was one woman impersonation who wore her hair in a poke in front and on either side corn husk attachments. There was no *awilona*.

But for two or three women impersonations in mask and Hopi blanket the *muluktakwe* were also unmasked. Their characteristic long staves were a miscellany of cat-tails, cornstalks, etc., and included, I was told later, the measuring stick used by Kroeber in his survey in 1915.[82] Downy feathers were fastened to the tip of each staff. In the group were two very little boys wearing a skirt and a *pitone*. To some of the *muluktakwe*, as well as to the *toicha'kwena*, women in our audience gave presents of food.

There was no asperging of any of the dancers by the *akwa mosi*, but, as each set withdrew, the *akwa mosi* with his medicine bowl took a stand near the door and gave each passing dancer a drink from the shell cup.[83] The *ne'wekwe awilona* of the *toicha'kwena* asked for repeated doses and, true to the *ne'wekwe* tradition of taking nauseous things to eat and drink (the medicine water [*kyalina*[84]] is said to be very bitter), he was not satisfied until he got *four* drinks. The audience smiled over it. In each set of dancers, one left the dance and made the usual lengthy prayer to the *wo'le*. The bag of seed corn brought to the house by the *toicha'kwena* was passed around in a basket at the close of the last dance, a young man giving everyone present a handful or two. After this the fraternity choir gathered in a semicircle around the altar, and said a short prayer. It was 12:30 when we left.

A repetition of the *kumanche* dance had been called for; so the following afternoon they were out dancing in the plaza with six *ne'wekwe*, including the *ne'mosi*, in attendance. As in their night dance, thirty or more *kumanche* impersonations were all masked, including one who, like the *wilatsukwe* figure, talked to the others between their songs. This star carried a flamboyant stuffed macaw. The *awilona* was a Little Firebrand fraternity man. Among the dancers was one little boy and there were two female impersonations. Like the *wilatsukwe*, the dancers kept no regular order. Their costumes were elaborate and highly variegated, the chief regularity being, as in the *lapile*, their headdress of feathers. The feather crest of their drummer was carried out along his arms. None but the well-to-do, I was told, could afford to

go into the dance, the costuming was so costly that only the "richest of the village" were represented, and one *upts'ana* man whom we knew, and who was looking on from the housetop, was described as too poor to be in the dance. If economic criteria are becoming established for the dances, as from many indications one may surmise, and if the new dances are gaining in popularity[85] over the older and more sacrosanct type of dances, it is likely that the religious drama of Zuñi is fated to go the way of Greek tragedy or medieval mystery play.

This afternoon, March 6, members of the *salimopia* group were out again disposing of bows and arrows. I happened to be in our house when it was visited by one of the *lelashoktipona*. Some time before he reached the house we heard him hooting, and Pascualita, who was alone with me in the house, ran into my room because, she said, she was frightened. Certainly I had never seen her so stirred, nor move so quickly. We had no meal to sprinkle on the head of our already much besprinkled visitor, but we gave him some biscuits in return for the feather and spruce decked bow and arrow. Pascualita is over twenty, and she was but a short while home from a schooling of several years at Albuquerque. And yet her childhood's excitement over the *koko* persists. It is possible after all that for a long time Zuñi culture may withstand the culture of the *melika*.

PART II. OLO'IKYAIYAKYA KOKO[86]

Of the summer series of dances corresponding, at least theoretically, to the winter series or *koyupchonawe*, I saw the final dance as presented by *upts'anakwe* September 12 to 15, 1918. The entire summer program is given in Table IV.

We may note that this program is not altogether uniform with the winter program: *he'iwa* and *uptsa'na* exchanged places, *chupawa* substituted the *wotemła* dance for the *upikyaiupona*, and *upts'ana*, the *hekshina shilowawa* (paint red) for the *upikyaiupona*.[87]

According to rule there are marked differences between the winter and the summer series of dances. In the summer series the *kosawia* is entirely eliminated—the head of the *kiwitsine* merely gives notice to the members four days in advance. Likewise absent is the pattern of successive replacement, since but one dance is given at a time. The summer dancing is outdoors and in circuit.

The theoretic morning circuits of four rounds of the four plazas—Big plaza, *hekyapa* plaza, *kochina* plaza, *ts'i'a'a* plaza—are not accomplished, judging from observation of the dancing on the mornings of

September 12 to 15 and from informants' recognition of the "cuts" as habitual. The first round of dancing is completed, but the three subsequent rounds are made with dancing sometimes in two plazas, sometimes in one, sometimes in none. For example, on September 12, beginning about 11:45 a.m. (by the sun) they danced on the first round in all four plazas, on the second round they danced in Big plaza, and in *ts'i'a'a* plaza, on the third round they danced in *ts'i'a'a* plaza, and on the fourth round they did not dance at all.

After the morning circuits, the dancers would withdraw about 1:30 (by the sun) into *upts'ana kiwitsine*, the male impersonators ascending and descending by ladder, and the female impersonators entering through the door of the adjacent house. To the door of the *kiwitsine* several women would bring bowls of stew and of bread, and pots of coffee. Who in particular were held responsible for supplying this meal I failed to learn; they were referred to as wives of the dancers, not of *he'iwa*, only of *upts'ana*.[88] Between four and five o'clock, the dancing was resumed and, as is always the case in afternoon dancing, it was confined to *ts'i'a'a* plaza. It would last until sunset or after. The *koyemshi* were in attendance, conducting a guessing game in the morning in *ts'i'a'a* plaza, in the afternoon visiting in couples from house to house to get food, and subsequently in the plaza valeting the dancers and playing the buffoon.

In the *koyemshi* guessing game I watched on September 12, a man and a woman were called out in the usual way to guess the concealed object. Between two lines of baskets of wheat and of strings of corn ears lying on the ground was a watermelon in which a hole had been scraped as a place to hide the object to be guessed, which was the tin cover of a pot.[89] The man stood next to *koyemshi awan tachu*, the woman on the other side of the man. The man according to rule had four guesses[90]—then the woman would have been given four guesses—but the man appeared to guess right on his first guess, and *awan tachu* handed him the melon. The man went to the door of the house in the northeast corner and a girl handed him some meal. He shared the handful with his woman partner and, after praying a couple of minutes in front of *awan tachu*, sprinkled the meal on the head of *awan tachu* and then on the heads of the other *koyemshi*. The woman sprinkled, but did not pray. Then the woman spread her shawl and collected in it the grain in the line in front of her; the man, after borrowing a blanket from the northeast corner house, collected the grain from the other line. They withdrew, and after them withdrew the *koyemshi*, singing as they went out in line and burlesquing the dancing of the *koko*.

HEKSHINA SHILOWAWA

Now the *hekshina shilowawa* dancers entered the plaza—they had completed their initial round in the other plazas and had been waiting in *kochina* plaza for the *koyemshi* to finish. There were thirty-six male impersonations and nineteen female. Later in Big plaza two more male, and a dozen or more female, figures joined the group. The female figures were contributed by *he'iwa kiwitsine.*[91] The female figures were all of the usual type of *kokw'e'le.*[92] All but four of the male figures were of the corresponding *kok'okshi* type. These four were two *up'poyona,* one *kyanachu* (gg), and one *ne'wekwe hewahewa* (hh). The *kyanachu* figure was the last dancer in line, and no female impersonation ever danced opposite to him, although at times there were more females dancing than males. The *kyanachu* mask is turquoise color, with a protuberant corn husk mouth. The hair is short, and there is a spruce collar. *Kyanachu* is sometimes danced by a group, danced perhaps at a *koyupchonane.* Second at the head of the line danced the *ne'wekwe hewahewa* figure. He wore a small mask, gray with black streaks and with a snout, likewise a *ne'wekwe* cap,[93] topped with a bunch of parrot feathers, and a collar of spruce. The rest of his outfit was that of the other dancers—Hopi cotton kilt, fox skin, dance belt with spruce above it, regulation arm bands, tortoise shell with woman's belt below right knee and blue yarn below left, regulation dance moccasins, legs to above knee and arms to above elbow painted yellow, with yellow streaks and spots on body and upper arm. The "red paint" on the body, from which the dancers got their name, was almost indistinguishable. In the right hand the dancers carried a gourd rattle, and in the left a spruce twig. Around their neck was a twist of dark blue yarn. All the *hekshina shilowawa* male figures had flowing hair[94] with the characteristic bunch of parrot feathers on top and the three eagle plumes spaced down the back. The female figures wore footless black stockings, and their feet were painted yellow. The *awilona,* Hompikya, the *kopiłashiwani,* wore a dance kilt and belt, and a cotton shirt festooned about the sleeves with ribbon. He wore footless black stockings tied below the knee with a woman's belt, his feet were painted white, likewise his hands. Around his head was the usual yucca circlet, and in his hair the usual eagle plume. Across his cheek bones were dabs of pink paint. He carried a *mi'le* and a meal bowl. Around his shoulders was his war bandolier[95] with two arrow points attached; likewise attached to the bandolier was his *lashowanłane.* As *awilona* he sprinkled meal as usual on entering and leaving the plaza and between

the stanzas of each song. It is to the sun that the *awilona* sprinkles meal, "praying in his heart" throughout the dance. "When it rains hard, they say he has tried hard."

In *ts'i'a'a* plaza the female line stood north of the male and faced south; the male line faced north, both lines making between stanzas a quarter turn to face east. In Big plaza the female line faced northwest, and the male line southeast. In *hekyapa* plaza the male line faced west, in *kochina* plaza northeast. The male line throughout keeps the inner side of the circuit. In Big plaza an old man came forward, said a prayer to the *awilona*, sprinkled the right shoulder of each dancer with meal, and went off with a piece of spruce in his hand. After the dancers come into *ts'i'a'a* plaza, in taking the dance steps before the song begins, the head figure in the male line and the female figure who is always opposite to him push gently but firmly against each other (*aɬkechi*, leaning elbows on) as they rotate. There are certain prayers which have to be said by these two leading figures (*aɬkechisheon achi*) as they execute this manœuver, and there appear to be only four men who know these prayers, Tsiwiki or Konana of the *he'ikwe*, Hupa of the *upts'anakwe*, Kaiwaiti of the *hekyapakwe* and one other. Even if out sheep herding these men may be summoned by any one of the *kiwitsiwe* that needs them in the dance.

At the close of the fourth appearance in the afternoon dancing, during the fourth stanza of a second song, the *awilona* left his place and said a prayer to *koyemshi awan tachu*, sprinkling his head with meal and then sprinkling all the other *koyemshi*. At the same time Wayeku, *piɬashiwani an suwe* (younger brother), went through the formalities of one who asks for a repetition of a dance. He spoke first to the dance head or midmost dancer, and then to one of the *koyemshi*. Standing at the head of the line of dancers he said a prayer; then he spoke to the *awilona*, who had resumed his place; then with prayer he sprinkled the right shoulder of every dancer, passing first down the line of males and then, returning to the head of the lines, down the line of females. He prayed to *koyemshi awan tachu*, sprinkling him and the other *koyemshi*. After another song, the dancers withdrew to sing in front of the house of *awan tachu*, as they always do in concluding the afternoon dancing if they are to dance the following day, and then to retire into *upts'ana kiwitsine*. This first night of the dance as well as the third night the dancers went to dance in the house of the *koyemshi awan tachu*. The *koyemshi* did not go to dance, as they do in the winter series of dances, in the house of the *kiwitsine* dancers.

Between the morning and afternoon dancing the *koyemshi* went on their characteristic domiciliary begging trips. On September 13 I happened to be in a house visited by one of the *koyemshi* couples. As the voices of the approaching *koyemshi* were heard, two chairs were placed in the middle of the room, as usual facing east. After the *koyemshi* were seated, the woman of the house gave one of them some bread for his sack. Then, together with the adult members of the household present, her daughter and her husband, she stood behind the seated figures. The two women and the man said a prayer and sprinkled the heads of the *koyemshi* with meal. This prayer appears to be considered peculiarly sacred. An unusually frank woman informant, who had repeated other prayers, declined to communicate this prayer[96] made to the impersonations that, of all Zuñi impersonations, are possessed in the richest measure of fear-inspiring sanctions, the *koyemshi*.[97]

This afternoon, September 13, another repetition of the dance was called for, called for by a rain priest. Besides this public request, in the evening the *pekwin*, the Sun's speaker, the rain priest of the zenith, went into *upts'ana kiwitsine* and asked the members to dance for two more days, concluding with a performance of *ololowishkya ia* (*ololowishkya* comes) (jj).

Aside from this conclusive ceremonial there is nothing to be noted about the continuing dance except the fact that early in the afternoon of September 14 the *koyemshi* gave a burlesque of the *wilatsukwe* dance. They wore their own masks, but were otherwise togged out in a miscellany of *wilatsukwe* finery. The real *wilatsukwe* "captain," in *wilatsukwe* mask and complete costume, danced with them, striding up and down in front of their line and calling out as in the regular dance and without any suggestion of caricature. This impersonator had been invited to take part by *koyemshi awan tachu*. In attendance were two *ne'wekwe*, one acting as *awilona*, one as bundle beater. The upper part of their bodies was nude and was stained gray. Outlined in the gray on the back of each, and covering the entire back was a rude sun picture[98] —a head and neck contour, eyes, ears, and mouth, each indicated by two short parallel horizontal lines, with another pair of vertical lines on the crown. Around the neck of the *ne'wekwe* was the black cord (*takune*, beads) characteristic of the *ne'wekwe*. Like the *wilatsukwe*, the *koyemshi* burlesquers threw the usual presents to the audience. I noted besides about two dozen black waistcoats fresh from the store. "Dancing" is good for trade.

OLOLOWISHKYA IA[99]

On September 15, about six o'clock (sun time), the *hekshina shilowawa* dancers were led out of the plaza through the southeast exit by their *awilona* to stand in the passage and around the corner for about five minutes (while the *koyemshi* played aimlessly about the plaza), and then to return in single file, male and female figures alternating, and to stand encircling the entire plaza except for a few yards to the southeast. On the south side of the plaza women and children spectators were crowded back to the wall. After the file of dancers there came in *ololowishkya*, then two *kokw'e'le* or *o'ky'enawe* (grinders), then two *he'he'a*, then four *upikyaiupona*.

Ololowishkya wore the regulation dance kilt and moccasins, with fringed leggings to the knee. Over his white cotton shirt were three girdles of raven feathers, one around the base of the mask, one under the arms, and one around the hips. The mask was the all-round type, turquoise color, with small eyes, and topped with feathers. In the nose-mouth region of the mask was painted in black lines an upright rectangle, in which a diagonal ran from upper right corner to middle of the left side (as the mask is viewed by a spectator), and thence another to the lower right corner of the rectangle. Over each ear-part was painted a black circle containing three crossed diameters. *Ololowishkya* supported with his hands a phallus which obtruded at right angles from the kilt. It was about eighteen inches long and five to six inches in diameter, red-brown, and on the top of it near the base rested the feather-stick given *ololowishkya* "by the man (the *pekwin?*) who asked him to dance."

The two *kokw'e'le* or grinders wore the regulation woman's moccasins and the black *yatone* or blanket dress with the right shoulder bared. Wrapped under the arms was a Hopi ("*shalako*") blanket. Hands and forearms were painted white. Each carried in both hands a basket heaped high with corn meal, yellow in one basket, white in the other and each also carried in the right hand two ears of white corn and a piece of spruce. They wore the regular white with black and white check pattern black bearded *kokw'e'le* mask.

The two *he'he'a* wore fringed leggings above the knee and a dark blue breech cloth. Thighs and body were painted white. They had wristlets of dark blue yarn and around their neck was a heavy skin collar. The round mask was orange in front with the characteristic zigzag nose and mouth of corn husk, and white in back with the three characteristic zigzags or lightning symbols in black. On top was a

bunch of short hair, green peppers, yellow and green feathers, and from one mask one long sweeping macaw feather and from the other mask a similar blue feather.

The four *upikyaiupona* wore their regulation outfit and each carried a trumpet. The trumpet was black with the gourd flare in colors and hanging from it four white plumes. It was held downward.

These nine figures proceeded to take their positions as indicated in figure 2. The *he'he'a* laid the canvas-covered bundle each carried on his back in the center of the plaza and proceeded to spread out first

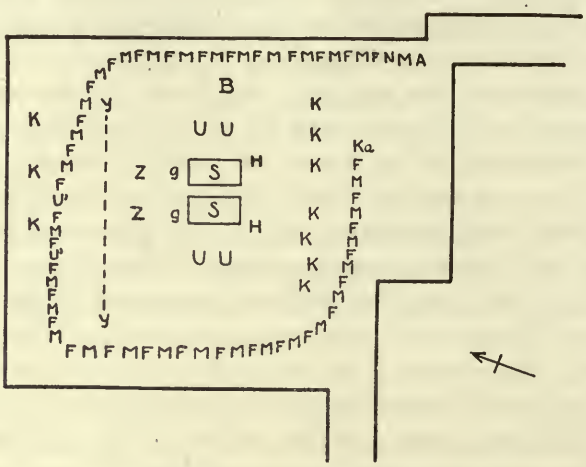

FIGURE 2. *Ololowishkya* Dance

A, Hompikya, *awilona;* M, Male, *hekshina shilowawa;* F, Female, *kokw'e'le;* N, *Ne'wekwe hewahewa;* U', *U'poyona;* Ka, *Kyanashu;* K, *Koyemshi* (on south, sitting); S, Spread of blankets, etc.; G, Grinders; Z, Position of grinders after prayer; U, *Upikyaiupona* trumpeter; H, *He'he'a* (when sitting); YY, Course of *ololowishkya;* B, Position of *ololowishkya* while ejecting fluid.

the canvas wagon covers, on top of them two buckskins, then black blankets. They laid side by side two metates or grinding stones, two empty baskets, and two twig brushes. Behind each metate a black blanket was bundled as a knee rest. From the two grinders the *he'he'a* took the meal baskets, placing them in front of the metates. Then each *he'he'a* tied around the wrists of each grinder single strands of yarn.[100] The two grinders knelt to the metates, laying aside the corn ears and spruce. Each put some meal from the basket on the metate and, in rhythm with the grinding song (*saleyane*)[101] to which the encircling *hekshina shilowa* were now singing and dancing, they began to grind. The *he'he'a* sat down each at a corner of the blanket facing the grinders, and clapped their hands in rhythm with the song, watching

the grinders and occasionally helping them shift or brush up the meal. Two *upikyaiupona* stood on either side of the central blanket and played on their trumpets,[102] dancing a quiet step.

Meanwhile *ololowishkya* trotted up and down on the north side of the plaza between the grinders and the encircling chorus. From time to time he would call out *olololo*! and from time to time he held up one foot or the other for several beats of the song. Towards the close of the grinding, *ololowishkya* trotted up to one of the two large bowls set to the east of the central blanket and ejected from the phallus a stream of blackish fluid (peach juice).[103]

The first song ended; and the grinders rose and stood side by side to the east of the central blanket, and facing the east. At this moment, I was told subsequently, they say a prayer or declare that, as they have ground, so should the women grind. Meanwhile the *he'he'a* with feverish motions gathered the meal into the baskets. The grinders returned to a position back of the metates and the *he'he'a* took the strings from their wrists and replaced in either hand an ear of corn together with the spruce. The second song began. The grinders stood about ten feet apart and danced with feet together in the same spot, making a half-turn from time to time from east to west (via south) and back from west to east. They extended first one arm and then the other in front, the corn ear and spruce held as if shielding the face.

As this dance and song went on a *koyemshi* poured half the fluid contents from the bowl filled by *ololowishkya* into a second unfilled bowl and moved both bowls nearer the central blanket. Into these bowls the *he'he'a* shook out the meal from the baskets. The two bowls were then carried by two *koyemshi* to the roof tops, where spectators were given a handful of the moistened meal. A man would make a ball of the meal and tie it up in his neck or head kerchief, intending to eat the meal at his convenience.[104] The *he'he'a*, walking with their usual long stride, took positions in the chorus circle, one near the head of the line next to the *ne'wekwe hewahewa*, the other at the tail of the line. They danced more vehemently than the others and, in accordance with their character, more jerkily. All their movements in attending upon the grinders had been hasty and at times deliberately incomplete.[105] While tidying up the meal, for example, one of them had taken his position in the chorus circle and had to be dragged back to finish his work by the other. To work fast but badly is ever their rôle.[106]

Towards the close of the second grinding song the *awilona* left his place to pray to *koyemshi awan tachu* and to sprinkle with meal all the

koyemshi. The *pekwin* in white cotton trousers slit up the leg, his black blanket wrapped around him leaving the right arm free, proceeded to sprinkle with meal every dancer, concluding with *ololowishkya*, on whose phallus he sprinkled, and the two grinders. To each grinder he said a prayer, relieving her of corn and spruce, and to *koyemshi awan tachu* he said a final prayer. Some of the spectators on the roof tops called out *kwili* (twice), and the second song was repeated, the *kokw'e'le* dancing without their corn and spruce and the *he'he'a* shifting their positions to places about one-fourth of the way from each end of the line. At the conclusion, the *he'he'a*, helped by the *koyemshi*, feverishly bundled up the paraphernalia. Excepting *ololowishkya* and the *koyemshi*, all withdrew from the plaza by the southeast exit, reversing the order in which they had entered. It was six twenty-five in the evening.

Ololowishkya remained two or three minutes trotting up and down the plaza, and uttering his cry. Then he trotted slowly out by the western exit, through *kochina* plaza and on out by the western road along the north side of the river,[107] bound presumably for his reputed home on a mountain east of *koluwala*. In the town three or four old men stood at convenient corners to sprinkle meal on his phallus as he passed by. And below the hill on the western outskirts a group had gathered to intercept him, no doubt for a like purpose, before he passed on and was lost to sight in the dusk.

Ololowishkya never appears except in this ceremonial. The two songs are accounted grinding songs, but they are sung exclusively in this ceremonial. The ceremonial may vary to the extent of being incorporated into an *upikyaiupona* dance instead of into a *hekshina shilowawa* dance. In such case the trumpeter's parts are performed by *hekshina shilowawa* impersonations. These trumpeter parts[108] are taken by members of a fraternity, the Little Firebrand fraternity.[109] One *he'he'a* was impersonated by a member of *upts'ana kiwitsina*, the other by a member of *he'iwa*. The impersonators of the *kokw'e'le* grinders were members of *muhewa kiwitsine*,[110] and the personator of *ololowishkya* was a member of *chupawa kiwitsine*—the ceremonial belongs to the *chupakwe* and *muhekwe*. The *ololowishkya* personator took the part for the first time. He was said to be the son (blood) of the man who had always taken the part. The night before the ceremonial the personator of *ololowishkya* is required to be continent.

The phallic significance in general of this beautifully rendered and highly impressive ceremonial was plain, but of it or of any interpretation in detail, no expression from my informants was available, with

one exception. The manner of ejecting the fluid, which rather curiously is thought of not as semen but as urine, is taken as a token, a *teliuna*, of good fortune to the community or bad—if the flow is smooth and unbroken, the token is favorable, if uneven, unfavorable, there will be sickness. There appears to be no prescribed time for holding the ceremonial. The last previous performance was said to have been in 1915.

NOTES

[1] *Ko* ex *koko*, gods, *yupcho*, removing to give place to something else, *nakya*, suffix indicating past tense. The reference is to the maneuvre of passing from one house to another, the place of the retreating group of dancers being taken by an incoming group. It is a dance pattern of successive replacement seen likewise at *koko awia* (*Shalako*), the coming of the gods, the important ceremonial of November-December.

[2] Middle, referring to the sun's course. The term commonly used is *pocha* (refuse, trash), *teshkwine* (taboo, sacred) referring to the restriction against taking ashes or refuse out from the house until the close of the period, *i.e.*, *pocha paniu* (down), *i.e.*, down to the refuse heap below the town by the river. Practically, however, the accumulation is thrown out anywhere.

[3] *He'iwa*, *hekiapawa*, *chupawa*, *muhewa*, *upts'anawa*, *ohewa*. Often compounded with *-kwe*, people, *e.g.*, *he'ikwe*, people or members of *he'iwa*.

[4] A child disciplinary mask. E. C. Parsons, The Zuñi *Atoshlĕ* and *Suukĕ*, Am. Anthr., n. s. XVIII, 338 ff., 1916; E. C. Parsons, Notes on Zuñi, part I, 172-3, Mem. Am. Anthr. Assn., IV, No. 3, 1917.

[5] In the dances given after *koko awia* there is the same cumulative participation.

[6] Or *komos*. God director, *i.e.*, director of the *kotikyane* (god fraternity) into which all the males are initiated. A *kopekwin* (god speaker) and two, theoretically, *koapilashiwani* (god bow priests), complete the group of officials.

[7] Ceremonially, the most distinctive feature about the appointed *kiwitsine* is that it alone offers or plants the feather-sticks made by all the *kiwitsiwe* for the occasion. See page 00.

[8] The *kopekwin* or *kopilashiwani* is said to instruct on the dates of the *kosawia*.

[9] See *a* in Table I. Small letters will refer to this table.

[10] This substitution by the *he'ikwe* aroused some adverse criticism. Last year the same *kiwitsine* had also departed from custom. After the winter solstice ceremonial each *kiwitsine* may have a dance before the series of the *koyupchonawe* begins. *He'iwa kiwitsine* gave *hilili* (d). Then, having no time, as they said, to plan for a *kok'okshi* for their *koyupchonane*, they presented their *hilili* again—only to cause "someone" (not a member of *he'iwa*) to have a bad dream. As a consequence, the *he'ikwe* had to dance again, dancing the regulation *kok'okshi*.

[11] Dr. Kroeber tells me that, one year while he was at Zuñi, one *kiwitsine* was used by a man for storing his hay, and in another some women used to cook.

[12] I did not learn the date of the first *koyupchonane*. In 1916 the *kosawia* of the first *koyupchonane* was on February 4, the last *koyupchonane* was on March 11.

[13] Foremost impersonation in the *koko awia* ceremonial. Zuñi Indians, plates 54, 73; Notes on Zuñi, part I, 165.

[14] See Notes on Zuñi, part I, 183 ff.

[15] It is the most popular of the *tikyawe*, I have been told, *i.e.*, the one most often invited by the *kiwitsiwe* to sing. (*Halokwe*) *tenanawe* (sing), is the expression used for having a fraternity in to assist.

[16] See Zuñi Indians, plate 112. The scalloped cloud design is called *lotepowapa;* the rainbow, *amitolane* (rainbow); the star, *moyachune;* the feathers from it, *lahanapa* (feathers hanging).

[17] The knife-winged figure associated with the fraternities. He is hung over the altar because he lives in the air. He is sometimes mentioned instead of the eagle as the creature associated with the zenith.

[18] Every house that entertains a *koko* group at the *koko awia* receives an ornate placque box, containing two notched feather-sticks referred to as the two children or babies, a charm against loss of children. The tendency to increase of elaboration in design at Zuñi is strikingly apparent in a comparison of the ceiling shrines in the older houses with the shrines in the new houses.

[19] "Servant" after Kroeber, "director" after Stevenson. His functions are twofold: he does work for the *kiwitsine* but he also gives orders or directions to other members. The position is lifelong. A vacancy is filled by the *kiwitsine* members. The twofold, servant-master aspect of official position is not confined to the officials of the *kiwitsiwe*. On a recent visit to Zuñi occurred a striking illustration of how it attaches to the *ashiwani*. At supper with us were one of the paramount *ashiwani* and a much younger man, a "poor person," *i.e.*, a person without rain priest or fraternity connection. The latter became suspicious that the priest had been giving me information and he proceeded to question and berate him. "When you came in, why (in accordance with custom) did you not say why you came?" asked the young man. The *shiwani* advanced a business reason for his visit. "Why did you not mention it in the beginning?" insisted the young man. "There might be something in the matter for others not to hear," answered the *shiwani*. "Nothing I should not hear," retorted the young man, a ceremonial friend of a son of the hostess. And the young man added, "My maternal uncle (likewise one of the paramount *ashiwani*) would not sell information." A priest is the servant of the community and he is expected to live up to the community standards of service.

[20] *Uptsanawe*: in the house habitually used by the *uptsanakwe*, the house of their *otikya mosi*, a girl had died. Then they went to the house of their *wo'le*, a house on the south side of the river. After going there for two *koyupchonawe*, they decided it was too far, and so they chose the house of Waihusiwa, an *uptsana* man. This was the second time they had been in this house.

[21] These feather-sticks were those, I think, that were to be given to the *kiwitsine* in charge of the dance. Some time after the dance, it would appear from an incident I heard of at the time, impersonators cut other sticks. There was in town, the story ran, an Acoma visitor who wanted to dance in this *koyupchonane*. To dance he would have to be initiated, *i.e.*, whipped by all the prospective dancers (in his *kiwitsine* set?). They had refused to initiate him because he would not be in town later on to cut his feather-sticks. A story was told in this connection of a Laguna man who had been initiated and had danced, but on going away without cutting the requisite feather-sticks, he had died.

[22] The man of the house is dance director (*otikya mosi*) of *muhewa*.

[23] See Zuñi Indians, plate 127.

[24] The downy eagle feather thus worn in ceremonials is called by the Hopi *omawnakwa*, cloud wish or prayer. In general ceremonial use, such feathers are called *nakwa*, wish, prayer. H. R. Voth, The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony, pp. 286, 295, Field Columbian Mus. Publ. 83, Anthr. Series III, no 4, 1903.

[25] From the first four feathers of the wing. These feathers are called *lats'umewe* (*la ex lale*, feather, *ts'ume*, strong). They are used also in *koko* headdress. The *asiwe* of the *lewekwe* fraternity are *shutsina* (buzzard) feathers.

[26] Theortetically there are two *salimopia*, older brother and younger brother, for each of the six directions after which they take their color (north, yellow; west, blue; south, red; east, white; zenith, variegated; nadir, black), but practically the impersonation, like several others, admits of reduplication.

[27] Every *koko* has a call.

[28] Yucca fruit (*naheli*) or white of egg is used to give the shine. *Naheli* is used in pottery making. It is also edible. The seeds are removed in the mouth, the pulp boiled, made into a cake, and worked into a long roll from which slices are cut, when the food is to be served, and put into water.

[29] The ear design is a three-step isosceles triangle, the base vertical.

[30] Feathers used in this way in the hair of both the *koko* and of fraternity members are from under the tail of the eagle.

[31] The face mask is called *pachine* in distinction to the *uline*, face and head mask. The *pachine* is subdivided into *pachine pokone*, in which the leather is carried below the chin, and the *pachine shoyane*, in which a beard covers the chin.

[32] The assertion (Notes on Zuñi, II, 271, n. 4) that genuflexion occurs only in the ceremony of installing the governor and *tenientes* was obviously erroneous.

[33] The formula of ceremonial circuit. See below. Sometimes *ukia*, giving, is added, and *alashinawe*, the old ones or ancestors, is understood.

[34] "Like rain dropping on you," I am told, "the sprinkling makes you strong and lively."

[35] The five birds are: *onohlikya* (oriole) for the north; *maiya* (jay) for the west; *mula* (parrot) for the south; *kyapchiko* (unidentified, a small green-backed bird that flies in the rain) for the east; *kyawulukye* (unidentified, an all-black bird that soars) for the zenith. With the different directions, particularly the last two, different informants will associate different birds.

[36] Cp. F. H. Cushing, Katalog einer Sammlung von Idolen, Fetischen und-priesterlichen Ausrüstungsgegenständen der Zuñi oder Ashiwi-Indianer von New Mexico (U. S. Am.), pp. 4-5, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, IV, no. 1, 1895.

[37] New music is not composed, it is said, for the flute.

[38] Boiling water is poured onto wheat flour in a bowl, and stirred. Flour from "wheat roots" is added. After cooling the mush is put into a corn husk, and then baked until brown. *Kwanuli he'palokya* is made only for this ceremonial occasion.

[39] The same young man had passed a gourd of water around in the audience and now and again he would take a child to a place provided quite near the altar for it to relieve itself. Two or three times during the evening the older man of the house sprinkled the floor for the dancers by the usual explosive ejection of water from the mouth.

[40] The *ne'wekwe* are a fraternity, the "delight maker" group corresponding to the Keresan *koshare* or *kachale*. It is customary for *koko* dancers to be led by a fraternity member. He is called their *awilona* (them having) or *awan tachu* (their father). He is usually maskless.

[41] He is an Eagle clansman but he lives unmarried with a family of the Chaparral Cock clan, a family with a reputation for harboring foreigners.

[42] Notes on Zuñi, part I, 216-9.

[43] The head of the medicine order of the fraternity.

[44] Showing the black line of micaceous hematite (called *tsuhapane* from the term for the stars, *tsuphapa moyachuwe*, like them it glistens) with which every dancer as well as their *awilona* is painted across nose and cheek bones. On bo'h mask and shell, on removing them, I was told, they would *yechu* or draw in the breath with prayer. (Cp. Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language, p. 385, St. Michaels, Arizona, 1910).

Turtles are regarded as *alashinawe*, old ones, ancestors. When many turtles come out in the summer pilgrimage to *kołuwela* it is a sign (*teliuna*) of rain; a paucity of turtles means drought.

Turtle meat and fat are good medicine for venereal disease. Formerly a string was tied around a man's head to show that he was infected with syphilis (*kyipishowe*).

[45] And before the *salimopia* group returned. The audience is supposed to sit through to the very end, and were anyone caught breaking this conventionality by a *salimopia*, the *salimopia*, I have been told, would use his yucca switch.

[46] Men in this house belong to *hekyapawa kiwitsine*.

[47] It is the house of the dance head of *chupawa kiwitsine*.

[48] An expression used of the fraternities or of the *koyemshi* appearing without the *koko*.

[49] Outsiders were not expected in. Sometimes, instead of being hosts, the *koyemshi* (or *ne'wekwe*) will go to the house of the dancers. Then the people crowd in.

[50] *Wilatsukwe anakya* (going). Dancers have also a coming (*inakya*) song.

[51] Another gay exploit of the *ne'mosi* was to carry the child *wilatsukwe* in his arms and have him give the old men they met on their way into the plaza a drink from one of the pink liquid filled bottles some of the dancers were taking around among the spectators on the housetops.

[52] By *kiwitsine awan* (their) *wo'le* it is always one of the three or four *shalako wo'we* who is referred to. The other *kiwitsine* officers are the *otikya mosi* (dance director) and the *otikya peanak* (dance speaker or inviter).

[53] On February 23, Waisiluhiwa, Hashi's blood brother, was about to set out to fetch Hashi when he heard the *ohekwe* were saying that they could get on very well without their *wo'le*—"he did not know it all." In a huff Waisiluhiwa said, substantially, "All right, if you can get on without him so well, I won't fetch him."

[54] There had been the uncertainty usual in Zuni about the time of beginning a ceremony. One had said it would begin at *itiwop, i.e.*, early afternoon, another, after four o'clock.

[55] It is the house of the *komosona*, the director of the *kotikyane*. The *komosona* is always chosen from the *ohekwe*.

[56] The men in this house are *he'ikwe*, but long before their day the house was used by the *kiwitsine* members.

[57] Before the waving, the door was knocked on, I think, with the crook stick, but of this I am uncertain. The circular motion is called *lesi tekwin takyanna awish altia*, every towards direction scum open. The reference is to the scum on water which is thought of as a door, a door between the spring of water and the cloud spirit. The *shalako* always use this term, *awishaltekya*, in speaking of opening a door. The *shalako* travel from clouds to springs. Cp. Zuñi Indians, p. 43, note *c*.

[58] In Keresan feather-sticks a slender stick is often included and is definitely referred to, at Laguna, as *yapi* or cane of office.

[59] The *mi'we* of rain-priest altars belong to individual rain priests who happen to be members of fraternities. But in one case I have heard of a *mi'le* belonging to the rain-priest group itself, the rain priests of the South.

[60] Similarly significant are the *awiloanawe*, lightning symbol sticks or drawings on fraternity or rain-priest altars.

[61] One man was a substitute, Waisiluhiwa substituting for his brother Hashi.

[62] It was not the permanent *pautiwa* mask, asserted my Zuñi hostess, Margaret Lewis, and even so the appearance of *pautiwa* in this connection seemed to her, a fairly constant observer of Zuñi custom, an innovation.

[63] *lannako* (fox) *we'le* (skin). It is worn pendent to the belt by the *kok'oshi* and other dancers and it is often referred to merely as *we'le*. It is, I doubt not, one of the oldest customary parts of the dancer costume. It appears to be also one of the longest retained in disintegrating custom.

[64] Ordinarily associated with the *hemushikwe* are the *nawish ky'anilona* (water having), so called because the *koko* owns a spring at *koluwala awokya* (women).

[65] *Kyiwi'anane*, little stick, making a slight sound, *nawa'anane*, long stick, making a heavy sound.

[66] Actually the man was a *shi'wanakwe*, but he is referred to as *ne'wekwe awan cha'le* (child of the *ne'wekwe*) because at times he "plays" with them.

[67] One of the songs was about having a wife in *koluwala*, about killing a little deer and taking out its spots, about eating a lot.

[68] By an onlooker in the *muhewa* house, I was told that the order of dances followed there this evening was *kok'okshi, hemushikwe, wilatsukwe hewahewa, lapile hewahewa, pasikyapa hewahewa*. The *salimopia* group did not come in as there was no fraternity in the house to sing for them. The household of this onlooker was associated with the *ohekwe* and ordinarily the women of the household go to the *ohekwe* house, but being delayed and thinking that the *ohekwe* house would be full, they decided to go to the *muhekwe* house, where, because no fraternity was singing, they would be surer of a place.

I have made too few observations to warrant generalization, but in so far as my observations go, I incline to think that the *kiwitsine* (or house substitute) frequented is chosen by the woman because it is the *kiwitsine* of her brother or mother's brother. The point is important because it may bear on the sometime possible use by clan of *kiwitsine*.

[69] A substitute term for *hewahewa* is *nehekalo*, meaning smooth, bare, nothing to wear.

[70] Three medicine-filled canes covered with cotton and flannel and bound in with two stiff eagle feathers and other smaller feathers. It appears to correspond to the *herunkwa* of the Hopi. *Apilashiwani* and Big Firebrand fraternity (*makye lanakwe*) are possessed of *lashowanlane*.

[71] Theoretically they are appointed during the winter solstice ceremonial at the close of December.

[72] The house to which the cigarette would be taken for the *alashikwe* would be that of *koyemshi awan tachu*, and that house would be the ceremonial house for the *alashikwe* during their *koyupchonane*.

[73] Within the *salimopia* group there are certain associations—*u'poyona* is associated with the black *salimopia*, *elashoktipona* with the yellow, *nawisho* with the

red, and *shulawitsi* with the multicolored. (With the white *salimopia anahoho* is associated, but as he is evil he does not come out except at the initiation into the *kotikyane*.) These associations I learned of too late to observe whether or not they are at all followed in the rounds of the house.

[74] There had been a rumor one night that the *awitonakwe* (all devourer) *atoshle* was out; but like many such rumors at Zuñi, it was not substantiated. The rumor was due, I presume, to the prospective non-participation of the *ohekwe* in the *koyupchonane*.

[75] There is a tale (unrecorded) about the *cha'kwena chilili* (*chichili?*) who went hunting near *heshota łuptsina* (village, community house (?), yellow), a ruin between Zuñi and Pescado, where lived a deer girl named *kuyapalitsa*. *Kuyapalitsa* heard him call her name. This was all of the tale known to my informant. Now and again at Zuñi it has seemed to me that there was no more knowledge about certain impersonations than we should have were we to dramatize, let us say, Yankee Doodle or the Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe.

[76] The substance of one of their songs was as follows: *Cha'kwena* comes from *kołuwala* and goes to an American town. There he sees the things in the stores. He returns and sets up shop at *hepatina*. He fixes prices—a water jar is $1.00, a bowl 50 cents, a stirring stick, a nickel. Then *cha'kwena* has *chichili* go to another place and set up shop. In *chichili's* store a jackrabbit is $1.00, a cottontail 50 cents, a rat a dime; all the goods are cheaper than in the American store.

[77] The prayer that goes with the breath rite, a rite generally accompanying meal sprinkling, is: *lena ho teko'hana anichiatu*, thus I light (life) wish much. For use elsewhere see Notes on Zuñi, part II, 275, 276.

[78] At Laguna this motion is a gesture of invitation to the *kopishtaiya*, the cosmic supernaturals.

[79] The *sayałi'a* whip, too, to exorcise bad dreams (*halowa samu chunana*, dream bad get rid of), and bad luck (*hanasima*). It is customary for the *sayałi'a* to administer the whipping at dances or in the *kiwitsiwe* during the final night of the winter solstice ceremonial. Women as well as men will go to the *kitwitsiwe* to be whipped.

[80] I heard of another like instance of *shuwaha*. A little boy dancer had forgotten to lower his mask. Because of liability to such ceremonial mishaps the bow priests oppose the initiation into the *kotikyane* of the exceeding young.

[81] In the *upts'ana* house the *halokwe*, Ant fraternity, were singing; in the *chupawa* house, the *peshatsilokwe*, Bedbug fraternity; in the *muhewa* house, the *makye łannakwe*, Big Firebrand fraternity; in the *hekyapa* house, the *shi'wanakwe*; in the *he'iwa* house, the *chikyalikwe*, Rattlesnake Medicine fraternity, and, as already stated, in the *ohewa* house, the *uhuhukwe*.

[82] This stick has become the property of one of Kroeber's interpreters, a member of *chupawa*, who was himself dancing, however, as a *u'poyona*. From my room this man had borrowed a large abalone shell for his costume—a little illustration of the continuous borrowing that goes on at Zuñi on dance occasions.

In connection with this dance I learned of another borrowing incident. In the preceding *koyupchonane* certain borrowed things were recalled at the last moment from the prospective impersonator by the lender, the would-be impersonator being consequently unable to take part in the dance. He felt called upon therefore to take part in this *koyupchonane* "to straighten it out," otherwise "something would happen," *i.e.*, the intent or vow, so to speak, had to be carried out. Cp. Notes on Zuñi, part II, 283.

[83] Sometimes, after the conclusion of the dances, the *akwa mosi* will give everyone in the room a drink from the medicine bowl.

[84] *Kyali* means honey, and honey is used as medicine. Bees hive in the river bank. If a person finds a hive, he or she takes it "to anyone who wanted it to use as medicine."

[85] The new or "fancy" dances are apt to be danced in winter, I have heard it said, because younger men are more apt to dance in winter and they care more for the fancy dances.

[86] *olo'ikya*, summer, *koko*, gods.

[87] The theory of uniformity between winter and summer series is held to so firmly, however, that one of my informants asserted that the *hekshina shilowawa* was being danced because it had been danced the preceding winter. He had forgotten the facts and had proceeded to bring them into conformity with the theory.

[88] In one family I was visiting, on two successive days the sister-in-law of a member of *upts'anakwe* carried a bowl of stew to the *kiwitsine*, the wife being engaged with a sick child.

As usual on such occasions the young woman was carefully dressed; even the white line on her *eha* (blanket) had been renewed. Marked by a yucca brush with clay, this line (*ehatsimulapnaiye*) figures on new blankets, and, by women who "want to dress prettily," it is repainted.

[89] In summer it is a vegetable which is usually hidden; in winter, a feather or a piece of dance costume or a dancer himself. The dancer is covered over or he stays in *he'iwa kiwitsine*. An informant told me that once, instructed by a man standing behind her, she guessed correctly the *mune'wekwe*. The figure followed her home where her mother and her *kuku* (father's kinswomen) washed his head and gave him bread.

[90] Four couples might have been called out. All failing to guess, any spectators might then have helped themselves to the goods on the ground.

[91] In accordance with the rule that the mate of a *kiwitsine* contributes the female impersonations (see Notes on Zuñi, part II, 250). There was a scattering from other *kiwitsiwe* also; I heard at least of three men from *chupawa*. If for one reason or another a man has failed to dance with his own *kiwitsine* set, he will subsequently join another set of dancers. If he does not dance at all, he may be kicked by a horse, or fall sick and die.

[92] The generic character of the female figure appears to be better preserved than the corresponding male figure which has become differentiated into *upikyaiupona* and *hekshina shilowawa*.

[93] But the impersonator was not actually a *ne'wekwe*.

[94] Among the Navaho rainray and dark streaked rain and clouds are represented by horsehair on the masks (An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, p. 47). The "beard" of the *kok'okshi* and its variants, I have little doubt, has a like meaning.

[95] Had an outsider made such a bandolier (*kye'pa'tonane*, buckskin around) he would have been initiated into the *apilashiwani*—a variant of initiation by trespass. In March, 1918, a like variant was illustrated. Two little boys were found playing with the brooms of the Ant division of the *chikyalikwe*. Forthwith a meeting of the fraternity was called, and fraternity fathers were chosen for the boys. The next day the boys' *kuku* (father's sisters) ground meal, and the day after the boys were initiated at Little Grease hill.

[96] The substance of it according to one informant who admitted that she did not know the words is: "Take this meal to *koluwala* to those who stayed behind."

[97] If you refused food to other impersonations, for example, you would suffer, but only a little; if to the *koyemshi*, you would run grave risk indeed: your child might burn to death (such cases have been known), or like the boy in 1915 who refused to fetch water for the *koyemshi*, your toes might be mashed (his were mashed by a water barrel), or as in the case in 1913 of a Hopi resident who wove cloth to renew the *koyemshi* masks and then asked for pay, you might break your neck. The Hopi had merely tripped on the hearth. After his death the *koyemshi* offered to pay for the cloth, but the son of the Hopi would accept nothing lest he, too, die. I heard of a three-year-old boy who because he inadvertently moved a chair prepared for the visiting *koyemshi* struck his grandmother in the leg so that the blood flowed. *Hish koyemshi awatani!* "Dangerous are the *koyemshi!*"

[98] The *ne'wekwe* are *yatokya an cha'le*, Sun his child, I was told, "because like the sun they have no mask."

[99] From Hopi Katcinas, pl. 32, we may infer that the ceremonial is known to the Hopi. The same ceremonial is danced at Laguna every autumn under the name of *kohashtoch'*, a word descriptive of the erect eagle feathers in the headdress. Formerly *kohashtoch'* was danced after a deer hunt, nowadays it is danced to open the hunting season. There are thirty or more *kohashtoch'*, two *paiyatyamu*, as the flutists are called (their mask is like that of the women impersonations, *kuchinninaku*), two *nawish* to carry the grinding stones and buckskins for underneath, and four women impersonations, two to grind, two to dance, the two sets alternating. There is no *ololowishkya* impersonation.

[100] Similarly yarn is tied on (*asian*, hand, *chiton*, yarn, *ikwie*, tie) when girls go to grind at the fraternity room. It is only "to make pretty." In the *satechia* (saint's dance), too, yarn is tied on. Forearms are painted yellow.

[101] At Laguna this singing is referred to as *k'atsina k'aiakaiatyia*. Thus men sang in the *hochenitsa* or ceremonial house of the cacique or *hocheni* for women to grind.

[102] "The ancient custom of timing the grinding of corn at the war dance by means of a flute made of the stalk of the sunflower, and provided with four keys, is mentioned as a tradition" An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, p. 511.

[103] Until this year *tsupachi kyawa*, yucca fruit water, was used.

[104] At Laguna meal called *hati* is mixed with water and two balls of this (*hochumeni*) are given by the two dancer women impersonations to each onlooker.

[105] A girl who left her work unfinished or who spilled things would be dubbed *he'he'a* in derision. Were an impersonator of *he'he'a* to have happened to be herding, let us say, and to have caught some rabbits, he might take the rabbits in advance of a *koyupchonane* dance into a house and, in exchange for the rabbits, get some bread. Later, he might return to the same house and take the rabbits back —a performance viewed as quasi ceremonial, *i.e.*, in keeping with the character of *he'he'a*.

[106] They set up the bower (*hampone*) for the women in the *lahewe* ceremonial, and in a *kyanakwe* ceremonial described by Stevenson the *he'he'a* carry the tribute of deer. For *he'he'a* among the Hopi see Fewkes, A Few Summer Ceremonials at the Tusayan Pueblos, Jour. Am. Ethn. and Arch., II, 78 ff., 1892. *He'he'a* has been equated with *heruta* (*heluta* in Zuñi), of Jemez and of Cochiti (cp. Dumarest, n, Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico. Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn. VI, No. 3, 177-8). I am disposed to equate him also with *hashch'ĕltqĭ'*, the Talking or Directing god of the Navaho, "so called from his usual role of director or master of ceremonies." An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, p. 384; The Night Chant, pp. 9-10, 56.

[107] He had come into town by this road about three in the afternoon.

[108] Trumpeters in their fraternity are referred to as *paiyatemu*, Keresan for youth.

[109] The four impersonators used a different house from the other dancers, presumably a house with fraternity connections.

[110] About noon as I happened to pass through the house of the head of the *muhekwe*, I saw one of the grinders being dressed. He covered his face with his hands as I passed by. The corn he was to grind ceremonially his wife had been up all night to grind.

TABLE I

Masked Impersonations[111] in the Zuni Winter and Summer Dance Series of 1918

(a) **Kok'okshi:** "god; good." Stevenson, M. C., The Zuñi Indians, Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn., XXIII, pp. 141 ff.

(b) **Upikyaiupona:** *ukyakaiawe*, the term for the downy eagle feather in constant ceremonial use, *pikyaia*, hang. Three feathers hang alongside the beard of the mask. Compare J. W. Fewkes, Hopi Katcinas, Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. XXI, pl. 33. For the dance at Acoma, see Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, XXXI, 259, 1918.

(c) **Toicha'kwena:** "home, native" (*toi*) *cha'kwena* in distinction to that of Laguna. Notes on Zuñi, part I, 213. For Hopi *chakwena* see Fewkes in Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, XIV, 84, 1901; Hopi Katcinas, pl. 4.

(d) **Hilili:** Notes on Zuñi, part I, 220-5; Hopi Katcinas, pl. 6.

(e) **Salimopia:** "bones" (*sawe*) "bunch hang" (*pia*). So called from the large bone rattle (*sakolkonawe*) of antelope scapulae carried in the left hand. These impersonations have associations with the war-god cult. For example, impersonators are addicted to borrowing the paraphernalia, bandoliers, and *ponepollolone* of the bow priests. Zuñi Indians, pls. 56, 57; Notes on Zuñi, part I, 169, 178; Hopi Katcinas, pl.2.

(f) **Nahalisho:** *nahnawish*; *halisho*, "crazy." Said to have been introduced from Laguna about 1904. Introduced by an *upts'ana* man who had seen the impersonation at Laguna; it is *upts'anakwe awan* (theirs), *i.e.*, it belongs to *upts'ana*.

[111] The order followed is that in which the impersonations are first mentioned in the text.

(g) **Łelashoktipona:** "wooden ears": *lewe*, wood, *lashoktina*, ear. There is a permanent mask. Notes on Zuñi, part I, 178; Hopi Katcinas, pl. 43 (*piokot*).

(h) **U'poyona:** "wool" (*u'le*), covered. Notes on Zuñi, part I, 178.

(i) **Hatashuk:** their talk is said to be in Keresan, and they are attributed to Laguna.

(j) **Nawisho:** said to be never impersonated in summer. Zuni Indians, pl. 62.

(k) **Koyemshi:** a group of ten annually appointed impersonators, sacred clowns. Their masks are in the guardianship of the rain priests of the West and are peculiarly sacred; but the masks are copied for other dancers. Zuñi Indians, pls. 5, 66; Notes on Zuñi, part I, 166, part II, 235-7; Hopi Katcinas, pls. 26, 45.

(l) **Kokw'e'le:** at Laguna called *kuchininaku*. Hopi Katcinas, pls. 8, 32.

(m) **Upikaiupona tamayakwe.**

(n) **Wotemła tamayakwe.**

(o) **He'he'a:** Zuñi Indians, pls. 52, 53; Hopi Katcinas, pls. 11, 32.

(p) **Wilatsukwe:** introduced about 1898 and danced by the Eagle clan. Three years later it was danced by *he'ikwe*, and for a time it was usually danced only by them. Nowadays members from different *kiwitsiwe* will get together and dance it.

(q) **Wilatsukwe hewahewa.**

(r) **Pautiwa:** chief of the *koko*: *koko awan mosi* or *awan kyakwe mosi*. Zuñi Indians, pl. 28; Parsons, E. C., The Zuni Molawia, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, XXIX, 392 ff, 1916; Notes on Zuni, part I, 168; Hopi Katcinas, pl. 2.

(s) **Hemushikwe:** Zuñi Indians, pl. 74; Notes on Zuñi, part I, 214-5; Hopi Katcinas, pls. 5, 21.

(t) **Pasikyaipa hewahewa.**

(u) **Lapile hewahewa.**

(v) **Koyemshi tek'usnakya.**

(w) **Hemokyatsi:** at the initiation into the *kotikyane* she takes out her breasts and suckles *kolowisi*. The initiates think she is his mother. Hopi Katcinas, pl. 14 (*So wūqti*.)

(x) **Siwolo.**

(y) **Wotemła:** "all kinds of animals"; *wo ex wowe*, servants, slaves, they who work for you, *i.e.*, animals; *temła*, all (kinds). Said to have been introduced from the Hopi or from San Felipe. A *toiwotemła*, "homemade *wotemła*," is danced where, as in the *toicha'kwena*, a bundle is beaten instead of a drum. The *wotemła* dance is a kind of omnibus affair and it is difficult to identify impersonations. Among others may be mentioned *kukushuli* (Hopi Katcinas, pl. 4, *tcakwaina taamu*); *woleashe* (ibid., *tcakwaina yuadtu*); *aweshi*, (ibid., pl. 10); *moyachūp* (ibid., pl. 14, *powamû*); *muhukwe* (ibid., pl. 16, *monwû*); *yaana* (ibid., pl. 31, *mucaias taka*); *kyapneu* (ibid., pl. 35, *kawikoli*); *ahute* (ibid., pl. 37); *temtemshi* (ibid., pl. 38, *hotcani*); *wolekwenon* (ibid., pl. 42, *matia*); *taknakwe* (ibid., pl. 53, *paski*). See Zuñi Indians, pl. 69: Notes on Zuñi, part I, 214.

(z) **Nawish itetsipone.**

(aa) **Shulawitsi:** "fire god," Zuñi Indians, pls. 51, 62: Notes on Zuñi, part I, 169-70, 178; Hopi Katcinas, pl. 3.

(bb) **Chichili:** Notes on Zuñi, part I, 213.

(cc) **Sayałi'a:** four impersonations who whip to exorcise. Zuñi Indians, pl. 16; Notes on Zuñi, part I, 178-9.

(dd) **Muluktakwe** or **muluktakya:** from butterfly, or from *muluktana*, oblong, *takya*, frog. Equated for me with the *waiyush* or duck *katsena* of Laguna. Zuñi Indians, pls. 72, 73; Notes on Zuñi, part I, 213-4.

(ee) **Kumanche:** Notes on Zuñi, part I, 175-6.

(ff) **Hekshina shilowawa.**

(gg) **Kyanachu:** Hopi Katcinas, pl. 20 (*telawai*).

(hh) **Ne'wekwe hewahewa:** for the *ne'wekwe* fraternity, see Zuñi Indians, pp. 429 ff; Notes on Zuñi, part II, 229-35.

(jj) **Ololowishkya.**

TABLE II

DISTINCTIVE DANCES OF KOYUPCHONAWE, FEBRUARY TO MARCH, 1918

	Date	Dancers from	Name of dance
1	February ?	hekyapawa	upikyaiupona
2	February ?	upts'anawa	upikyaipona
3	February ?	chupawa	upikyaiupona
4	February 17	muhewa	upikyaiupona
5	February 25	ohewa	kok'okshi
6	March 5	he'iwa	toicha'kwena

TABLE IV

DANCES, JUNE TO SEPTEMBER, 1918

	Date	Dancers from	Name of dance
1	End of June[112] (one day)	hekyapawa	upikyaiupona
2	?	he'iwa	toicha'kwena
3	? (three days)	chupawa	wotemła
4	? (two days)	muhewa	upikyaiupona
5	September 3-5	ohewa	kok'okshi
6	September 12-15	upts'anawa	hekshina shilowawa

with concluding ololowishkya ia, September 15

[112]The initial dance may not be repeated. Stevenson states that none of these dances may be repeated and there is in this limitation a correspondence with the Hopi *kachina* cult. The repetition today at Zuni is one indication among many of the tendency to elaboration in the *koko* cult.

After arriving from the pilgrimage to *kołuwala* (*kołuwalakwin kok awia*, "*kołuwala* gods come") the *koko* went as usual into *ohewa kiwitsine* to dance. They go there because the *komosona* belongs by rule to *ohewa*. (The house of the present *komosona* adjoins *ohewa*.) The *koyemshi* go to the house of the *kopekwin*. (The present *kopekwin* and *kopilashiwani* belong to *ohewa*.) During the night, the dancers alternate between *ohewa kiwitsine* and the house of the *kopekwin*, dancing four times in each place. The following day they danced as usual four rounds of the four plazas, in the morning, and in the afternoon four times in *tsi'a'a* plaza.

The *ohekwe* have a reputation for bringing the rain. Their practice is stricter, and, therefore, I infer, more compulsive than that of other *kiwitsine* members. They come out breakfastless, at sunrise, from over the hills. The others come out between eleven and twelve.

TABLE III

KOYUPCHONAWE 4, 5, 6: FEBRUARY 17 TO MARCH 5

Date and place	Dancers from	Name of dance	Number and names of impersonators	Awilona	Choir, Altar
February 17 (night). In succession inside 6 houses	muhewa	upikyaiupona	27 upikyaiupona 17 kokw'e'le		makye ts'anakwe in house of dance director of muhewa
	ohewa	upikyaiupona tamayakwe (Santa Ana)	17 upikyaiupona tamayakwe 2 kokw'e'le 2 wotemła tamayakwe 1 he'he'a	ne'wekwe tamayakwe	
	upts'anawa	wilatsukwe	40 wilatsukwe		halokwe in house of member of upts'ana. Drummer: ne'wekwe
	Single representative from chupawa, hekyapawa, he'iwa, in one of the other groups		8 yellow salimopia 1 black salimopia 3 u'poyona 1 łelashoktipona 2 nahalisho 3 natashuk		
February 18, 19 (afternoon). In ts'i'a'a plaza	upts'anawa	wilatsukwe	29 wilatsukwe	Fraternity (?)	Drummer: ne'wekwe
February 25 (night). In succession inside 6 houses	ohewa	kok'okshi	30 kok'okshi 5 kokw'e'le 1 he'he'a 1 u'poyona	pautiwa	uhuhukwe

	hekyapawa	wilatsukwe hewahewa	10 wilatsukwe hewahewa	ne'wekwe	shi'wanakwe
	upts'anawa	hemushikwe	4 hemushikwe 1 nahalisho okya (woman)		?
	he'iwa	pasikyapa hewahewa	25 pasikyapa (4 or 5 only in mask)	ne'wekwe	?
	chupawa	lapile hewahewa	17 lapile hewahewa 1 hemokyatsi 1 siwolo	munc'wekwe	?
	muhewa represented by pautiwa in kok'okshi (?)		5 yellow, 2 red, 1 blue, 1 black salimopia 2 or more łelalashoktipona Several nahalisho Several u'poyona		
February 26 (afternoon). In ts'i'a'a plaza and in the ohewa house	ohewa	kok'okshi	30 kok'okshi 4 kokw'e'le 1 he'he'a 1 u'poyona 1 pautiwa 1 tek'usnakya koyemshi	piłashiwani (?)	
	chupawa	lapile hewahewa	17 lapile hewahewa 1 hemokyatsi 1 siwolo 10 koyemshi	ne'wekwe	

TABLE III—(*Continued*)

Date and place	Dancers from	Name of dance	Number and names of impersonators	Awilona	Choir, Altar
			salimopia, etc., in ohewa house and paying domiciliary visits		uhuhukwe
March 6 (night). In succession inside 6 houses	he'iwa	toicha'kwena	27 toicha'kwena (1 only in mask)	ne'wekwe	chikyalikwe
	hekyapawa	hilili	18 hilili 1 hilili okya 6 in choir in mask		shi'wanakwe uhuhukwe
	ohewa represented by hilili okya				
	muhewa	wotemła	9 wotemła (1 only in mask)		makye ts'anakwe
	chupawa	muluktakwe	14 muluktakwe (none in mask) 3 muluktakwe okya		peshatsilokwe
	upts'anawa	kumanche	30 kumanche Several salimopia Several u'poyona Several łelashoktipona Several nahalisho 3 nawisho itetsipone 2 he'he'a 6 hatashuk 3 shulawitsi 4 sayaḷi'a		halokwe

TABLE V

Hekshina shilowawa and Ololowishkya ia, September 12 to 15

HEKSHINA SHILOWAWA

Dancers from	Name of dance	Number and names of impersonators	Fraternity functioning	Rain-priests functioning
upts'anawa	hekshina shilowawa	36 hekshina shilowawa 1 kyanachu 1 ne'wekwe hewahewa 2 u'poyona	piłashiwana as awilona	Spruce taken from dancers September 12 by rain priest
he'iwa		37 kokw'e'le 10 koyemshi 1 wilatsukwe (September 14)		
			2 ne'wekwe (September 14)	

OLOLOWISHKYA IA

	ololowishkyaia or o'knikyana	1 ololowishkya 2 o'ky'enawe 4 upikyaiupona	makye ts'anakwe	Pekwin asks for the ceremonial September 13. Pekwin concludes the ceremonial with prayers
upts'anawa and he'iwa		and the hekshina shilowawa impersonators		

GLOSSARY

Achiyalatopa. Knife-wing, a supernatural associated with the zenith, and with stealing young women. His image figures on altars.

Ahute. Mask god in *wotemła* group.

Akwa mosi. Medicine head or chief of the medicine order of a fraternity or curing society.

Akyałalu. All, water, sprinkle. Rite of asperging dancers.

Ałashana. "We live to be old." Rite of asperging.

Ałashikwe. Old people, ancestors. The dead are thus referred to, likewise certain masked impersonations.

Ałashikwe awan koyupchonane. House-to-house ceremonial by a group of masks referred to collectively as the old ones.

Ałkechi. Leaning elbows on.

Ałkechisheon achi. Two leaning elbows on, said of the two leading impersonations, male and female, in the line of dancers.

Ałtiya. "Opens." Rite of meal sprinkling from door to door.

Amitolane. Rainbow.

Anakya. Going out, said of final dance song.

Anawanakya. Guess, said of certain *koyemshi* games

Annahoho. Mask god.

Apiłashiwani. (*piłashiwani*, sing). Bow-priests, warrior priesthood.

Asean chiton ekwie. Yarn bracelet of grinder.

Ashiwani. (*shiwani*, sing). Rain priests.

Asiwe. "Hands," *i.e.*, two ceremonial feathers carried in the hands.

Asosonane. Fire drill.

Ateane. Squash blossom on mask.

Atoshle. Old man or woman disciplinary mask.

Awan kyakwe mosi. Their house chief, said of the head of the hierarchy or of the pantheon.

Awan tachu. Their father, said of the head of the *koyemshi* or frequently of any ceremonial group.

Awełua ishemea. Clouds calling. Rite of rotating pendent altar piece.

Aweshi. Mask god in *wotemła*.

Awilona. Them having. Leader in dance group, commonly a maskless personage, a bow-priest or *ne'wekwe*.

Awishałtekya. Scum open. Figure of speech used by *shalako* masks for opening a door.

Awitonakwe atoshle. "All devourer" *atoshle*. Mask god.

Chahumoawe. Canvas bundle beaten instead of drum.

Cha'kwena. Dance group in the mask god cult. The group has associations with the war cult.

Cha'kwena chichili. Mask in *cha'kwena* group.

Chikyalikwe. Rattlesnake medicine fraternity.

Chululunane. Flute.

Chupakwe. People or members of *chupawa* estufa.

Chupawa. (*Chupawa kiwitsine*). One of the six estufas.

Chutsikwanamuwe. Corn bread made for ceremonials.

Eha. Woman's blanket dress.

Ehatsimulapnaiye. White line painted by the fastidious on woman's black blanket.

Estufa. Spanish term for clubhouse in which ceremonies are held.

Halisho. Crazy.

Halokwe. Ant fraternity.

Halowa samu chunana. Dream bad get rid of. Exorcising by whipping.

Hampon. Ceremonial bower.

Hanasima. Bad luck.

Hatashuk. Mask god, variant of *koyemshi*.

Hati. Meal (Keresan).

He'he'a. Mask god.

He'iwa. (*He'iwa kiwitsine*). One of the six estufas.

He'ikwe kosawia. Announcement of the *koyupchonane* ceremonial by members of the *he'iwa estufa*.

He'ikwe. People or members of *he'iwa estufa.*
Hekshina shilowawa. Dance group in the mask god cult, variant of the *kok'okshi.*
Hekyapakwe. People or members of *hekyapa* estufa.
Hekyapawa. (*Hekyapa kiwitsine*). One of the six estufas.
Hemokyatsi. Mask god.
Hemushikwe. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Hepatina. Shrine on the southeast edge of town.
Herunkwa. Hopi term for certain "medicine bundles." See *lashowanlane.*
Heruta (heluta). Mask god (Keresan).
Hewahewa. Burlesque.
Hilili. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Hocheni. Chief (Keresan), equivalent to *mosona* in Zuñi.
Hochenitsa. Ceremonial house of the chief or cacique (Keresan).
Hochumeni. Ceremonial balls of meal (Keresan).
Hotcani. Hopi mask god.
Ichukotenapkya. Spitting rite for exorcism.
Ikoshnawa. Play, said of the games of the *koyemshi.*
Inakya. Coming in, said of initial dance song.
Ishuwanapkya. Cleansing, exorcism.
Itiwana. Middle, said of winter solstice ceremonial.
Itiwop. Past midday.
Kachina. Mask god (Hopi).
K'aiakaiatyia. Grinding songs sung by men (Keresan).
Kanachu. Mask god.
K'atsina. Mask god (Keresan).
Kawikoli. Hopi mask god.
Kiwitsine (kiwitsiwe, pl.). Estufa or sacred clubhouse.
Koapiłashiwani. God bow-priests, the two bow-priests of the *kotikyane.*
Kochina plaza. Wood rat plaza, one of the four squares of Zuñi.
Kohashtoch'. Ceremonial at Laguna to be equated with the *o'knekyanna* ceremonial of Zuñi.
Koko. Supernaturals commonly impersonated in mask.
Koko awia. Advent of the gods, an early winter ceremonial, by outsiders called *shalako.*
Koko awan itiwana. The middle or calendar determining ceremonial of the mask gods.
Koko awan mosi. The head or chief of the mask gods.
Kok'okshi. Good gods, the most sacred rain-making dance group in the mask god cult.
Kok'okshi koya. *Kok'okshi* woman. See *kokw'e'le.*
Kokw'e'le. God girl, female impersonation in the mask god cult.
Kolowisi. Mythological horned water snake, represented by an image in the mask god cult.
Koluwala. God town, where the mask gods and the dead live.
Koluwalakwin kok awia. *Koluwala* gods come, said of the advent of the gods for the summer dances.
Komosona (komos). Head or director of the god fraternity.
Kopekwin. God speaker, the second official of the god fraternity.
Kopiłashiwani. God bow-priest, bow-priest of the god fraternity.
Kopishtaiya. The cosmic supernaturals (Keresan).
Kosawia. Announcement of the mask gods.
Koshare. Clowns or "delight makers" (Keresan).
Kotikyane. God fraternity into which all the boys are initiated.
Koyemshi. Sacred clowns or "delight makers." There are ten, each representing a clan to persons affiliated on the paternal side.
Koyemshi awan tachu. Father or head of the sacred clowns.
Koyemshi tek'usnakya. Mask god, variant of *koyemshi.*
Koyemshi ukwaye. *Koyemshi* come out, said of the appearance of the *koyemshi.*
Koyupchonakya. Verbal form for *koyupchonane.*
Koyupchonane (koyupchonawe, pl.). A house-to-house ceremonial of winter.
Kuchininaku. Yellow woman, Keresan for *kokw'e'le.*
Kukushuli. Mask god in *wotemla.*
Kumanche. Comanche. Quasi-secular dance in the mask dance cult.
Kushoktane. Black and white block design.
Kwanuli he'palokya. Quasi-ceremonial bread.

Kwili. Twice.
K'yaechine. Bundle of feather-sticks.
Kyali. Honey.
Kyalina. Medicine water.
Kyałatsiwa. Circlets of spruce, worn by dancers.
Kyanachu. Mask god.
Kyanakwe. Mask god ceremonial.
Kyapchiko. Bird associated with the east.
Kyapneu. Mask god in *wotemła.*
Kyawulukye. Bird associated with the zenith.
Kye'pa'tonane. Bandolier of bow-priest.
Kyipishowe. Syphilis.
Kyiwi'anane. Notched stick scraped in dances for treble.
Lahanapa. Pendent feathers on the altar.
Łahewe. Womens' harvest dance.
Łannako we'le. Fox skin, pendent to belt in ceremonial costume.
Lapile. Dance group in mask god cult.
Lashoktina. Ear.
Lashowan łane. Befeathered, medicine filled canes commonly attached to the head.
Lats'umewe. Strong feathers, *i.e.*, wing feathers.
Łeakwine. Tortoise shell dance rattle.
Łelashoktipona. Mask god.
Lesitekwintakya. "Towards every direction," circuit rite.
Lesi tekwin takyanna awish ałtia. Every, towards, direction, scum, open, said of waving a ceremonial object in a circuit before a door.
Łewe. Wood.
Lotepowapa. Vault cloud design.
Mahetinasha. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Makye łannekwe. Big Firebrand fraternity.
Makye mosi. Firebrand head or chief, head of the fire order of a fraternity.
Makye ts'anakwe. Little Firebrand fraternity.
Maiya. Jay.
Matia. Hopi mask.
Matsikwawe. Headdress, with hair puffed out in whorls.
Melika. Americans, *i.e.*, Whites, exclusive of Mexicans.
Miha. Hopi blanket worn in dances.
Mi'le (mi'we, pl.). Corn, *i.e.*, the feather and cotton wrapped ear of corn given to members of the medicine order of fraternities as a personal fetich.
Molimopikwin. Dance belt of knotted strings.
Monwû. Hopi mask.
Moyachułanna. Star, big.
Moyachune. Star.
Moyachup. Mask god in *wotemła.*
Mucaias taka. Hopi mask.
Muhekwe. People or members of *muhewa* estufa.
Muhekwe wo'le. Servant-manager of the members of *muhewa* estufa.
Muhewa. (**Muhewa kiwitsine**). One of the six estufas.
Muhewa shalako. Mask representative from *muhewa* estufa in the *koko awia* ceremonial.
Mukwe. Hopi.
Mula. Parrot.
Muluktana. Oblong.
Muluktakwe. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Mune'wekwe. *Ne'wekwe* of the Hopi.
Nahalisho. Mask god.
Naheli. Yucca fruit.
Nakwa. Wish or prayer, applied to downy eagle feather (Hopi).
Nasuiyakwe or **nasawiakwe.** Sioux.
Nawa'anane. Notched stick scraped in dances for bass.
Nawish. Mask god.
Nawisho itetsipona. Mask god, variant of *nawish.*
Nawish ky'anilona. Mask god, variant of *nawish.*
Nawisho. Mask god.
Nehekałło. Bare, term for burlesques.
Ne'mosi. Head or chief of the *ne'wekwe.*

Ne'wekwe. Fraternity with curing and clown functions.
Ne'wekwe awan cha'le. The child of the *ne'wekwe*, a member of another fraternity associated with the *ne'wekwe*.
Nots'inanpanine. Nose mark on mask.
Ohekwe. People or members of *ohewa* estufa.
Ohekwe koyupchonane. Ceremonial held by members of *ohewa* estufa.
Ohekwe wo'le. Servant-manager of the members of *hewa* estufa.
Ohewa. (**Ohewa kiwitsine**). One of the six estufas.
O'knekyanna. Grinding, term for the *ololowishkya ia* ceremonial.
O'ky'enawe. Grinders, said of grinders in the *ololowishkya ia* ceremonial.
Okya (**awokya**, pl.). Woman.
Olo'ikya koko. Summer gods.
Olo'ikyaiyakya koko. Summer dances of the mask gods.
Ololowishkya. Mask god.
Ololowishkya ia. *Ololowishkya* comes, an autumn ceremonial.
Ololowishkya ikoshunapsha. Little girls' running game.
Omawnakwa. Downy eagle feather symbolizing cloud wish or prayer (Hopi).
Onohhikya. Oriole.
Otikya mosi. Dance head or chief.
Otikya peanak. Dance speaker.
Pachine. Mask covering the face only.
Pachine pokone. Mask reaching below the chin.
Paiyatamu (**paiyatyamu**). Youth (Keresan), esoteric term for trumpeter or flutist.
Pachine shoyane. Mask with beard.
Palto, Paltowa. Locality on the east side of the town.
Paski. Hopi mask.
Pasikyapa. Sleeve wide, a quasi-secular dance in the mask god cult.
Pautiwa. Mask god, head of the pantheon in the mask god cult.
Pekwin. The Sun's speaker, the rain priest of the zenith.
Peshatsilokwe. Bedbug fraternity.
Pia. Hang.
Pikyaia. Hang.
Pilashiwani an suwe. Younger brother bow-priest.
Piokot. Hopi mask.
Pitone. Square of cloth or silk hung by a woman across her shoulders.
Pocha paniu. Refuse down, *i.e.*, down the river bank, referring to the close of the winter solstice ceremonial.
Pocha teshkwine. Refuse sacred or taboo, the popular term for the winter solstice ceremonial.
Ponepollolone. "Medicine bundle" of the bow-priests.
Powamû. Hopi mask.
Sakolkonawe. Antelope bone rattle.
Saleyane. Grinding song.
Salimopia. Mask god.
Satechia. Saint arrives, *i.e.*, the Saint's dance.
Sawe. Bones.
Sayali'a. Mask god, whipper mask.
Sayatasha. Mask god.
Shalako. Mask god.
Shi'wanakwe. A fraternity.
Shohkoua. Trumpet.
Shulawitsi. Mask god, associated with fire.
Shutsina. Buzzard.
Shuwaha. Cleansing, exorcising.
Siwolo. Bison.
So wügti. Hopi mask.
Taknakwe. Mask god in *wotemla*.
Takune. Beads, said of black necklace worn by *ne'wekwe*.
Takya. Frog.
Tamayakwe. Sant Ana people.
Tapone. Ceremonial crook stick, often used as a prayer-stick.
Tapup. Governor, the head of the secular officers.
Tatsikone (**tatsikowe**, pl.). Club, hook; ceremonial crook stick.
Tcakwaina taamu. Hopi mask.
Tcakwaina yuadtu. Hopi mask.

Tehusapenawe. Prayers.
Tełane (teławe, pl.). Prayer-stick indicating office or function.
Telawai. Hopi mask.
Telikyinawe. Feather- or prayer-sticks.
Teliuna. Omen.
Temła. All.
Temtemshi. Mask god.
Tenientes. Collective term for secular officers. (Spanish).
Teshkwine. Sacred, taboo.
Tikyane (tikyawe, pl.). Fraternity.
Tikyilona. Fraternity member.
Toi. Native.
Toicha'kwena. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Toiwotemła. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Towa yalane. Corn mountain, the mesa about three miles to the east.
Ts'i'a'a tehwita. Central square or plaza, chief place for outdoor ceremonials.
Tsuhapane. Micaceous hematite.
Tsupachi kyawa. Yucca fruit water.
Tunatsiwulapchelnapa. Eyes marked around, in the fashion of the *ne'wekwe.*
Uhuhukwe. A fraternity.
Uky'ahana. Wish or prayer feather.
U'le. Wool.
Uline. Mask covering head as well as face.
Upikyaiupona. Dance group in the mask god cult, variant of *kok'okshi.*
U'poyona. Mask god.
Upts'ana. (Upts'ana kiwitsine). One of the six estufas.
Upts'anakwe. People or members of *upts'ana* estufa.
Uky'akaiawe. Wish or prayer-feather.
Waiyush. Duck, ceremonial term (Keresan).
Wełapatsikwe. San Felipe people.
We'le. Skin, said of dance fox skin pendent.
Wilatsukwe. Apache, quasi-secular dance in the mask god cult.
Wiloanawe (awiloanawe, pl.). Lightning symbol or design.
Wo'le (wo'we, pl.). Servant director, an officer of the estufa.
Woleashe. Mask god in *wotemła.*
Wolekwenon. Mask god.
Wotemła. Dance group in the mask god cult.
Yaana. Mask god in *wotemła.*
Yapi. Cane of office (Keresan).
Yatokya an cha'le. Sun his child, said of *ne'wekwe.*
Yatone. Woman's blanket dress.
Yechu. Breath rite.
Yupcho. To remove, to give place.

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